INTERVENTION IN THE CITY BUILDING NETWORK:

AN EVALUATION

OF THE A.I.A.'S R/UDAT PROGRAM

by

M. MARTHA LAMPKIN

B.Arch., University of Notre Dame
(1975)

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE
DEGREES OF

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

and

MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE IN ADVANCED STUDIES

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

June 1981

Signature of Author _____
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
May 26, 1981

Certified by _____
Gary A. Hack
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by _____
Langley C. Keyes
Chairman, Departmental Graduate Committee

INTERVENTION IN THE CITY BUILDING NETWORK:

AN EVALUATION

OF THE A.I.A.'S R/UDAT PROGRAM

by

M. MARTHA LAMPKIN

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
on May 26, 1981 in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degrees of Master of City Planning
and Master of Architecture in Advanced Studies

ABSTRACT

The Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team (R/UDAT) program of the American Institute of Architects (A.I.A.) offers free design assistance to cities and regions across the country by sending interdisciplinary professional teams to the city or region for a four day visit. The process used by these teams to help the cities is analyzed as a form of intervention in a local city building network.

City building networks are discussed as "informal social networks," using the definition of Donald Schon, and are described as being composed of actors who perform seven functions: scheming, promoting, coordinating, regulating, packaging, designing, and building.

The strategy implicitly recommended by the A.I.A. for R/UDAT teams to intervene in local networks is first made explicit and is then compared to a theoretical model with which it shares some basic assumptions. The theoretical model is one proposed by Chris Argyris, which holds a normative view of intervention and maintains that an effective network operates with valid and useful information, free choice, and internal commitment of local actors. Any network asking for help is seen to be deficient in maintaining these conditions, and the task of intervention is thus to improve them.

Based on a detailed study of the sixty-six visits conducted to date, the R/UDAT program is found to be most effective at developing the commitment of local actors and deficient in promoting the use of valid information and free choice. Furthermore, it is discovered that teams bring about the commitment of local actors by engaging them in the network role of scheming during the four day visit. This use of the act of designing (scheming) for purposes other than arriving at buildable proposals is shown to be innovative and effective. Recommendations for changes in the current R/UDAT intervention strategy to improve the areas in which it is deficient conclude the study.

Thesis Supervisor: Gary A. Hack
Title: Associate Professor of Urban Design

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Introduction	5
Chapter 1:	The City Building Network	11
Chapter 2:	The R/UDAT Program	19
Chapter 3:	A Theory of Intervention	25
Chapter 4:	Description of Completed Visits	40
Chapter 5:	Toward the Improvement of R/UDAT Intervention	70
	Conclusions	77
	Appendix	81

LIST OF TABLES

1	Regional Location of R/UDAT Visits Compared to Regional Distribution of U.S. Population	41
2	Ranges of Populations of Cities and SMSA's Visited by R/UDAT's, by Region	43
3	Racial Compositions of Cities Visited by R/UDAT's, by Region	44
4	Percent Change in Populations from 1960 to 1970 of Cities Visited by R/UDAT's, by Region	45
5	Percentage of Families Below Poverty Level in Cities Visited by R/UDAT's, by Region	46
6	Study Areas as Defined by Local Steering Committees and by R/UDAT Teams	48
7	Study Areas Defined by R/UDAT Teams, by Region	52
8	Professional Composition of R/UDAT Teams	62
9	City Name and Date of R/UDAT Visit	82
10	City Characteristics	84
11	State Capitals and Universities	85
12	Study Areas as Defined by Local Steering Committee and Considered by R/UDAT Team, by City	86
13	Physical Issues: Problems, Recommendations, Follow-up	87
14	Social Issues: Problems, Recommendations, Follow-up	88
15	Economic Issues: Problems, Recommendations, Follow-up	89
16	Procedural Issues: Problems, Recommendations, Follow-up	90
17	Team Composition, by City	91
18	Predominant Role Played by Team	92
19	Network Functions Teams Were Asked to Play	93
20	Network Functions Played by Teams	94
21	Funding Source	95
22	Steering Committee Composition	96

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team (R/UDAT) program of the American Institute of Architects (A.I.A.) is to improve the quality of urban design throughout the country by involving local professionals and the community in the design process.[1] The program gives free design assistance to cities and regions throughout the country by sending an interdisciplinary team of experts to a city for a four-day visit. By trying to improve a community's design process, the R/UDAT program intervenes in the system of organizations and individuals that collectively build a city -- referred to in this study as the "city building network."

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the intervention strategy used by the R/UDAT program; to examine, in other words, the effectiveness of the methods used by the R/UDAT program to help improve a community's design process. This study, therefore, addresses such questions as: how does the A.I.A. conceive of the network in which R/UDAT teams intervene? Does the A.I.A. consider there to be an ideal way in which the city building network should operate? How should short-term intervention fit into this ideal process? Does the strategy of the A.I.A. accommodate this fit?

These are, perhaps, not the most obvious questions to be asked about a program that generates scores of specific recommendations (ideas for physical change as well as social, economic, and procedural improvement) for every city that is visited. Other studies[2] have, in fact, focused on more obvious questions, including: what physical recommendations have been implemented? What was the quality of the team's report? How extensive was the media coverage? What types of recommendations predominate? How involved was the local A.I.A.? Questions such as these assume that the intervention process recommended by the program is appropriate, and a

failure in any specific case can be attributable to peculiar circumstances which disturbed the recommended process.

This study, on the other hand, does not assume that the R/UDAT intervention strategy is appropriate. It is based, rather, on the observation that the program has been successful in many areas, but less successful in others, and that its lack of success cannot simply be accounted for by a number of specific and unusual circumstances, but is more likely attributable to flaws in the fundamental structure of the program. This, of course, assumes that a more appropriate and successful intervention strategy could be devised.

The analysis of the R/UDAT strategy is based on a comparison to a theoretical model proposed by Chris Argyris which shares the same assumptions, but is drawn from other fields of action.[3] Before this comparison can be made, however, the strategy of intervention used by R/UDAT must be abstracted from what has been written and said about the R/UDAT program: a strategy that is not clearly described, nor perhaps even apparent to the R/UDAT directors, but which can be uncovered by a careful examination of the program requirements and suggestions. The comparison of this strategy to Argyris' model (in Chapter 3) proves it to be incomplete in some respects.

Once the overall strategy is examined, the R/UDAT visits that have been conducted to date are described (in Chapter 4). They are discussed in terms of problem types, recommendations, results, teams and their roles, sponsorship, and city characteristics. This description lays the groundwork for a comparison (presented in Chapter 5) of the recommended strategy to the actual visits. This analysis allows a test of several hypotheses that are drawn from the first evaluation, and shows that the overall

strategy does seem, indeed, to be causing recurring, undesirable conditions in many of the visits. The study concludes with a list of issues which should be addressed by the A.I.A., by any city group considering sponsoring a visit, and by visiting teams if the R/UDAT program is to be conducted more effectively.

Basic to the evaluation, however, are preliminary descriptions of the city building network and the R/UDAT program. The network is described (in Chapter 1) as an "informal social network," a term borrowed from Donald Schön,[4] and is defined as a collection of organizations, groups, and individuals who are organized around the major functions of the network -- seven major functions are defined for the purposes of this study. The R/UDAT program is, in turn, described (in Chapter 2) in terms of its historical context and its process.

This study is, clearly, most useful to the directors of the R/UDAT program, and to others involved closely with the program -- team members, local steering committees, local governments, and community groups. It could, however, also be useful to anyone interested in the effectiveness of design charrettes,[5] or to others interested in understanding city design consultation as a form of intervention, whether the intervention is for a short period of time (as with R/UDAT) or over a longer period. These concerns would be of interest to many groups: generally speaking, those who hire urban design consultants (planning agencies, businessmen's organizations, community development corporations), and those who consult (architects, urban designers, planners, landscape architects, engineers, economists, lawyers, etc.).

The study attempts to provide a simple framework for thinking about consultation in a very complicated system. No apologies are made for

oversimplification -- the purpose is not to scrutinize the working of the parts, but rather to sketch an overview of the whole.

Footnotes

1. Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team Program, The American Institute of Architects, reprinted brochure, 1975.

2. The only evaluation to date of the R/UDAT program (completed after this study began) is: The R/UDAT Study Task Force, Felicia Clark, project coordinator, The R/UDAT Process: Research, Analysis and Change (Washington, D.C.: The American Institute of Architects, October 1, 1980).

   This study describes the purpose of the program, significant visits, and defines the individual visits as successes or failures. It also discusses a new follow-up program being planned by the A.I.A. Fourteen criteria are used to judge visits as successes or failures. They are: local A.I.A. involvement, broad local steering committee, strong local support, clear problem statement, diverse funding source, media coverage, political timing, interdisciplinary team, quality of report, achieved physical recommendations, achieved procedural recommendations, spin-off benefits, public participation, and follow-up at local level. A scale of one-to-ten was used to measure performance. Successful visits achieved overall scores of 3.5 or more, failures fell below 3.5.

   Other studies of R/UDAT have appeared as articles in professional journals. None of these, however, study the program in any depth -- most serve to describe the process and recommendations of particular visits. Examples of these articles include:

   Vilma Barr, "Vehicle for Urban Improvement," Journal of the American Institute of Architects, August 1970, pp. 49-54.

   Robert Cassidy, "Downtown Fort Smith gets a blueprint for action," Planning, June 1977, pp. 15-17.

   Thomas H. Creighton, FAIA, "The Frustrating Fate of Urban Design in Hawaii," Journal of the American Institute of Architects, June 1977, pp. 51-53.

   Andrea O. Dean, "Linking a Civic Symbol to Its City: R/UDAT looks at Renaissance Center and resurgent Detroit," Journal of the American Institute of Architects, August 1978, pp. 40-45.

   Pete McCall, "Seeking Permanent Benefit from an Energy Fair: A R/UDAT goes to Knoxville, Tenn., to advise on the planning of Expo '82," Journal of the American Institute of Architects, May 1979, pp. 72-74.

   Mary E. Osman, "An A.I.A. Design Team Studies a Neglected Sector of Honolulu," Journal of the American Institute of Architects, July 1974, pp. 47-49.

   "Phoenix: Rx for Planned Development; An A.I.A. assistance team visits one of the nation's fastest-growing metropolitan areas,"

Journal of the American Institute of Architects, March 1974, pp. 22-31.

Suzanne Stephens, "R/UDAT redux," Progressive Architecture, October 1979, pp. 72-75.

3. Chris Argyris, Intervention Theory and Method: A Behavioral Science View (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1970), p. 15.

4. Donald A. Schön, "Network-Related Intervention" (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, August 1977).

5. In his book, Charrette Processes: A Tool in Urban Planning (York, PA: George Shumway Publisher, 1971), W.L. Riddick II has defined a charrette as "a brief period of intense activity, if not round-the-clock work, to accomplish a given task within a specific period of time."

CHAPTER 1: THE CITY BUILDING NETWORK

The network of organizations, agencies, community groups and private individuals which could be said to collectively build a city -- the network in which R/UDAT teams, as consultants, intervene -- is a rather elusive group. It has no formal structure, no permanent leadership, no way of signing a contract, and its members, more often than not, harbor conflicting goals. Nonetheless, it does exist as a network of people and organizations that collectively influence the physical character of a city.

Before the R/UDAT program can be analyzed as a program that attempts to improve this network (to "intervene" in it), the network itself must first be examined. This chapter discusses the structure, composition, and process of the city building network.

Donald A. Schön, in his paper "Network-Related Intervention," refers to groups with characteristics such as those involved in city building as "informal social networks." He defines them as follows:

> Informal social networks, as I use the term, are patterns of relationship and interaction among persons or collectivities. These patterns are regular and persistent and, in that sense, law-like, but they are not governed by formal rules. They lie outside the boundaries of formal contract, formal regulation, formal organization.[1]

Schön further defines informal networks by describing a set of features which many networks share. Outlined briefly, these features are as follows:

1) the boundaries of networks are fuzzy and shifting
2) there is often no clear center or locus of leadership
3) the networks are dynamic and often change in unpredictable ways
4) networks are apt to have multiple functions
5) they may have multiple relations to formal institutions:

a) they may be 'draped over' formal structure
b) they may substitute for formal arrangements
c) they may supplement the services of formal agencies
d) they may subvert formal organizations
e) they may be supplanted by formal organizations
f) they may give birth to formal organizations

6) networks depend on persons who play 'network roles' -- roles such as brokerage, referral, mediation, diffusion, facilitation, evaluation

7) networks depend on slack

8) networks have life-cycles, stages of development, growth and maturity

9) networks are sources of meaning, self-definition, and attachment.[2]

Many of these features can be identified in the city building network. For example, at any given time, any number of private development firms, public agencies, or community groups could be seen as making efforts to physically change their city. But since they are now always -- perhaps seldom -- all operating concurrently, the boundaries of the network constantly change. Also, leadership in this effort constantly shifts, with the private sector sometimes instigating development and, at other times, the local planning authority or a community group. But no matter who leads the effort, many groups or individuals can be found who play the essential "network roles," including developers, government agencies, and development corporations.

While these features make it appropriate to describe city building as the product of an informal social network, further definition is needed to help in breaking down the network and understanding its parts. Schön, in his typology of informal networks, describes a "community network" as one of a broad class of "organizational ecologies":

> By the term organizational ecology...I wish to refer not to a focal organizations and its organization-set but to the organizational field created by a number of organiza-

> tions whose interrelations compose a system at the level of the field as a whole.[3]

Schön distinguishes community networks as organizational ecologies whose domains are geographic regions which are conceived of as "the site of a more or less coherent community."

> The focus of the network's interactions, as perceived and described by some observer, is something like 'the well-being of the community,' or is more specifically, 'the community's manpower system,' 'the community's land-use and development system,' and the like. In each case, 'community network' is a construct of the observer, a way of grouping together and bounding the interactions of persons and organizations in the community which appear (to the observer) to have to do with some broad condition or function of interest.[4]

Understanding "some broad condition or function of interest" as the concept around which informal networks are organized, gives a clue as to how to break down the city building network. The network can be seen to perform a number of functions beyond the general one of building the city. At least seven functions come to mind:

1) scheming,
2) promoting,
3) coordinating,
4) regulating,
5) packaging,
6) designing, and
7) building.

Performing each of these tasks are a number of individuals, groups, and organizations -- formal and informal -- many of whom perform more than one task, as can be seen in the definitions which follow.

Scheming (a term borrowed from Gary Hack[5]) is based on the assumption

that there is a better future for a place. Schemes are drawings or descriptions that indicate a different and better form that a city or part of city might take. They can vary in their levels of realism, but schemes serve the purpose of generating ideas, enthusiasm, and debate about the future of an environment, and they "should always be regarded as working tools to seek consensus on initiatives, rather than as unchangeable blueprints."[6] Schemes can be proposed by nearly anyone: the local government, a developer, community groups, designers, journalists, schoolchildren.

Before a scheme turns into reality, considerable promotion generally occurs. Whether a project is large scale or small, there is usually some group that must be convinced of the project's worth before it can proceed. Local businessmen, for example, may have to be convinced of the merits of renovating their storefronts, or the City Council must be convinced of the need for a new convention center or hotel complex. Many different groups do the job of promoting projects at one time or another: Chambers of Commerce, downtown business groups, historic building societies, the media, political figures.

Coordinating a project involves ensuring the commitment of the major actors and bringing them into agreement over exactly what the project will consist of. Coordination involves a bit of mediating and brokering, and is most often a task of the local government since it is often the interests of the general public that must be coordinated with those of private sector actors. Coordination is essential, for example, to try to bring together a developer, a land owner, and community groups before a project can proceed. Obviously, the more complex a project, and the more diverse the special interests, the more coordination is needed.

Any project is subject to regulation: zoning, building codes, environ-

mental protection standards, design review, etc. Regulations, however, aren't always fixed, and can, therefore, be used as influential bargaining tools by the controlling government body. While regulating is generally the task of government agencies, it can also be a function of the private sector through legal mechanisms such as deed restrictions.

Packaging (another term borrowed from Gary Hack[7]) involves organizing the specifics of a project: funding sources, project design, scheduling, city approvals. Packaging can be done by many groups: developers, local governments, community organizers, non-profit development corporations, or influential individuals acting alone or through blue ribbon committees.

At the city scale, many different groups act as designers: architects, planners, urban designers, engineers. Design is understood here as far more specific than scheming. Design can only occur after consensus has been reached on what environmental changes are to be made and after a program for the changes has been determined.

Once the project has been conceived, approved, packaged, and designed, it can finally be built. Those involved in building are, of course, groups such as contractors, labor unions, building materials manufacturers, and construction managers.

On any given project, some of these roles are more dominant than others. Packagers, clearly, play a key role in a market economy, and those who have the power to control the packagers, regulators, also play a key role. Many times an organization or individual that is involved in playing several different roles will act as the lead: a land owner, for example, who acts as developer on a project that he not only conceived of, but also coordinated, packaged, designed, and built. A local planning agency or a community development corporation could similarly act as the

lead.

In general, it seems that no particular process guides the work of city building networks. Even though scheming would seem to be the starting point for any project, many visions of the future depend on knowledge of the present or past and thus depend on things that have already been built. Likewise, although coordination would seem to follow scheming, many schemes probably wouldn't be generated if certain groups weren't brought together in the first place. Of all the different functions of the city building network, the only one that seems to hold a constant position in the process is that of building, which seems to consistently follow all the rest.

It is also important to recognize that networks that are internal to a city, such as described here, can be strongly influenced by outside actors. Developers, designers, financing institutions, coordinators, and others can all be imported to play the roles of the local network. In doing so, the outsiders may legitimize the efforts of some local group or bring a new direction to development in the city -- a direction which is likely to stem from the values and practices of the place from which the outsiders have come.

In analyzing the city building network according to the functions it performs, it becomes clear that many residents of a community -- and many people living outside the community -- are somehow involved in the network. Although the network may be elusive because it has no formal organizational structure, it nonetheless has a very clear informal structure. It is this structure that must be kept in mind by anyone trying to help the network operate more effectively.

The R/UDAT program, it will later be shown, has not clearly defined

its task as helping a community perform any of these seven functions in particular. The assistance offered by R/UDAT teams, in fact, has at times fallen into nearly all of these categories. It will be shown, however, that the role that cities ask the teams to play often differs from the role that the team does, in fact, play, and that central to both the expectations of the city and to the performance of the team is the task of scheming.

Footnotes

1. Donald A. Schön, "Network-Related Intervention" (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, August 1977), p. 1.

2. Ibid., pp. 3-5.

3. Ibid., p. 22.

4. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

5. Gary A. Hack, "Organizing Effective Environmental Design," paper presented at the Second International Conference on Urban Design, Harvard University, September 26, 1980, p. 10.

6. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

7. Ibid., p. 12

CHAPTER 2: THE R/UDAT PROGRAM

With the return to power of the Democrats in the early 1960's came renewed interest in cities. The country, at the time, had rebuilt itself through the social programs and housing projects following the Depression, had felt the suburbanizing effects of the highway programs and housing subsidies of the 40's and 50's, had lived through an extensive slum clearing phase under Eisenhower, and was on the brink of exploding into a decade of racial tension and civil rights activism. The importance of the federal posture toward the city may have been made clear under Roosevelt, but from 1945 until well into the 1960's, federal policies were scattershot and often worked at cross purposes.

Kennedy and Johnson, however, were committed to improving cities and to reversing the poor record of federal urban programs. In 1965, Congress finally approved the creation of a cabinet level department of Housing and Urban Development. This action, along with the creation of a number of new agencies such as Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Head Start, signalled what many called an "urban renaissance." Predictions for the future of the city were optimistic and a challenge was issued by President Johnson to Americans of this generation to help in achieving the Democrats' hopes:

> The city is not an assembly of shops and buildings. It is not a collection of goods and services. It is a community for the enrichment of the life of man. It is a place for the satisfaction of man's most urgent needs and his highest aspirations. It is an instrument for the advance of civilization. Our task is to put the highest concerns of our people at the center of urban growth and activity. It is to create and preserve the sense of community with others which gives us significance and security, a sense of belonging and of sharing in the common life.

> Aristotle said: 'Men come together in cities in order to live. They remain together in order to live the good life.'
>
> The modern city can be the most ruthless enemy of the good life, or can be its servant. The choice is up to this generation of Americans. For this is truly the time of decision for the American city.[1]

This sense of responsibility toward cities was also grasped by some in the architectural profession at the time. A series of Urban Design Conferences were begun at Harvard University in 1956, and in 1957 the American Institute of Architects (A.I.A.) formally reinstituted its Committee on Urban Design -- a committee which had been active in the Garden City movement of the 1920's but which lost its fervor in the 30's and 40's.

Professional journals from the early 1960's relate this sense of responsibility to a new, more political, role for architects, using such terms as "architectural statesmen" and "community architects." In several particularly patriotic articles, the national president of the A.I.A., Philip Will, Jr., declares:

> It is no longer enough for us to bend over our drawing boards and draw pretty elevations and play with shadows. We must learn to understand not only the laws of esthetics and of technical engineering, but the human laws of politics, sociology, psychology and economics...[2]
>
> ...any conscientious, to say nothing of ambitious, architect knows in his heart that he has training and skills which his country needs, his neighborhood needs, and that he should put them to work where they will do the most good...
>
> ...The decision is yours.[3]

Within this climate of social responsibility, the A.I.A.'s Committee on Urban Design created a program which would give free professional assistance to cities and towns throughout the country. The Urban Design

Assistance Team program ("Regional" was added later to the title, resulting in the term R/UDAT) was announced by the A.I.A. early in 1967. It set out to accomplish some rather broad objectives:

> The objectives of the RUDAT program are: to give national A.I.A. support to chapters in their efforts to take the initiative and become a more effective influence in community planning and urban design issues; to improve the quality of urban design throughout the nation by involving architects and other professionals in the process; to dramatize problems of urban design in order to interest the public in solving them; and to assist A.I.A. chapters by suggesting opportunities for urban design and calling attention to existing community assets.[4]

The program, thus, was essentially founded to involve the architectural profession in urban design, and it attempted to do this by generating local recognition of the problems and opportunities of the city.

For architects faced with the many large scale urban renewal projects and city expansion projects of the 1960's, the promotion and education offered by the R/UDAT program was welcome. And for the community, a program which offered advice for no fee and which called for only three or four days of interaction with the consultants, there was really nothing to lose and quite a lot, potentially, to gain. As a result, the program was popular from the start, with two visits conducted in the year the program was announced and a total of sixty-six conducted to date.

The process through which the program attempts to accomplish its objectives is straightforward. In short, a city applies to the A.I.A. for a visit, indicating the problems to be addressed, the general characteristics of the city, and the support of community groups for the visit. After reviewing this material and after a visit is made to the city by an Urban Design Committee member, a city is approved or rejected for a visit. If a visit is approved, a chairman is selected for the visiting team and the

chairman is sent on a reconnaissance visit in order to further clarify the city's problems and to determine the expertise needed on the team. The team is then chosen and the visit is scheduled. Different teams are sent on each visit (over 200 professionals have served to date as team members), and team members are restricted from taking commissions from the city after the visit.

R/UDAT visits have focused on problems of small and large scales, ranging from determining the uses to be made of a particular parcel of land to establishing growth policies for an entire county. R/UDAT teams were initially composed of three or four members, all of whom were architects or urban designers, but more recently they have grown to eight or nine members and include as many non-architects (such as planners, economists, lawyers) as architects. Visits are typically conducted in four days -- the first two for meeting with the public and getting at the root of the problems, and the last two for generating recommendations. Visits have, however, been as short as three days and as long as six. Recommendations made by teams are as likely to concern social, economic, or political issues as physical issues, and they are more likely to address more problems than were originally posed to them by the city sponsor than they are to limit themselves to their original mandate. In response, cities are more likely to act on recommendations concerning the process it uses to make development decisions than they are to implement recommendations which encourage actual physical change.

In general, the program has expanded in many ways -- teams are larger, more visits are held per year, more problems are dealt with, more recommendations are offered -- and each visit has been somehow different from the rest. The structure and purpose of the visits have, however,

remained the same. R/UDAT teams in all cases are used as short-term design consultants to generate enthusiasm and ideas to solve urban problems.

Footnotes

1. Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America, 2d ed. (New York; Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1976), p. 285.

2. Philip Will, Jr., F.A.I.A., "Architectural Statesmanship," Journal of the American Institute of Architects, February 1961, p. 54.

3. Philip Will, Jr., F.A.I.A., "The Challenge of Urban Design," Journal of the American Insitute of Architects, March 1961, p. 32.

4. Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team Program, The American Institute of Architects, reprinted brochure, 1975.

CHAPTER 3: A THEORY OF INTERVENTION

The R/UDAT program, as an operating program of intervention, has adopted a particular strategy of intervention. This strategy was not chosen systematically from among the many theories which exist in the literature, but rather was constructed by the founders of the program on the basis of logic and first-hand experience. The attempt of this chapter is to compare the operating R/UDAT strategy to relevant theoretical models of intervention, to better understand what R/UDAT hoped to accomplish and to discover areas in which it may be, in theory, incomplete or misconstrued.

Before this can be done, however, some definitions must be established. In this study, "system" is used as a generic term which may encompass networks, organizations, groups, or individuals, which function as interrelated, interdependent parts of the whole.[1] The term "group" refers to a small collection of individuals who share a common goal. Organizations are made up of numerous groups and individuals who also share goals and who are organized to achieve them in complex, formal or informal structures. Networks are, in turn, composed of complicated collections of individuals, groups, and organizations that also share common goals, though their goals are likely to be far more general and multiple than are those of groups or organizations. Networks can be formal or informal, but are most commonly discussed in this study as informal. A formal group, organization or network is one which can enter into a legal contract. And, finally, "to intervene" means "to enter into an ongoing system of relationship, to come between or among persons, groups, or objects for the purpose of helping them."[2]

Most of the literature which deals with intervention was written with

reference to business organizations and concentrates on intervention which attempts to improve the management of an organization, not on intervention to improve a product. Recurring topics are thus issues such as decision-making, goal-setting, appropriate organizational structure, and maintaining worker morale. The literature tends not to focus on extensive systems or networks (city-wide, for example), but rather to focus on organizations, groups, or individuals. Furthermore, the literature is divided in its attention to formal or informal systems, in its concern for the process or the structure of the system, and in its reliance on normative or non-normative views. Of these distinctions, the latter is the most basic.

A non-normative view would be concerned with issues such as whether a system is accomplishing its goals, or whether the criteria established to measure success are valid, or whether the goals established by the system actually reflect those of its members. In any case, the interventionist does not tell his clients what they should be doing, but rather tells them how to do what they want to do. Theories such as these are most commonly applied to organizations where the goals and power structure are clear cut, and where human behavior is, more or less, predictable or controllable.

An interventionist applying a normative view, however, does quite the opposite. In describing what the client ought to be doing, the interventionist relies on his view of how an ideal system should operate. Such theories seem especially applicable to complex and changeable systems, or to systems whose leadership is not strong. Normative views hold that in complex systems, those who know the system best, its members, are better able to solve its problems than are outsiders. The task of the interven-

tionist, therefore, becomes one of describing the ideal way in which the system should operate, and relies on the members of the system to help determine just how to achieve these ideals. This approach clearly accommodates the changeable nature of human behavior. It also promotes the ability of the system to monitor itself rather than to rely on repeated consultation. The approach, therefore, is appropriate for and commonly uses short periods of intervention in which the consultant builds only a temporary relationship with the client.

The "strategy of intervention" adopted by the R/UDAT program is clearly structured along the lines of a normative strategy: it encourages the autonomy of the system, it intervenes in the system for only a short period of time, and it relies largely on the members of the system to determine just how to carry out the ideals which any given team promotes. This strategy is surely appropriate given the complex and changeable nature of the city building network within which R/UDAT teams intervene.

As has been noted, however, such a strategy is only workable if an overriding view of an ideal system guides the recommendations of the interventionist. With the R/UDAT program, such ideals are not explicit. They do exist, however, and must be discovered in order to determine which of the theories in the literature can be used to analyze the completeness of the R/UDAT strategy.

How can R/UDAT's view of the ideal operation of a system be discovered? The most revealing sources are the criteria and measures which the A.I.A. uses to evaluate the applications of cities that request visits. These measures would seem to indicate at least a minimum threshold, since it can be assumed that no interventionist would choose to enter a system in which it is clear that he could have no effect, or where it is clear that the

interventionist's ideal is totally at odds with that of his client.

A city which applies to the A.I.A. for a R/UDAT visit is asked to submit in its application: 1) a statement of the problem, 2) a general description of the city, and 3) letters of support from the community.[3] The A.I.A. both reviews this application and visits the city before it decides whether or not to approve a team visit. The decision is based on three factors: 1) whether the A.I.A. feels the problem is one "it can deal with," 2) whether the city sponsor indicates that it can pay the team's expenses, and 3) whether there is a broad spectrum of support within the community -- especially the support of the local government.[4] None of these criteria are applied as hard and fast measures. Judgements are made, rather, by the members of the A.I.A.'s Urban Planning and Design Committee based on their experience in judging previous applications.[5]

A quick analysis of these criteria establishes the R/UDAT view of an ideal city building network. The following features can be identified:

1. The network is made up of a wide spectrum of the community (since a broad spectrum of support must be shown before a visit is approved);
2. Sufficient information must exist about the city for the city building network to operate properly (since a team cannot intervene properly, nor can the A.I.A. even judge a city's application properly if it is not equipped with sufficient information);
3. The network must be able to determine its own problems (since the A.I.A. requires that the visit sponsor identify the problems that the team will address); and
4. The various groups which compose the network must be committed to improving both the network and the city (since these groups must

show their support for the R/UDAT visit whose task it is, as stated in the R/UDAT objectives, to help improve the network and the city).

The vision that emerges even from this short list is an orderly one which places responsibility in the hands of many without ascribing leadership to any one group. The operational ideal relies on the availability of information, the autonomy of the network (to solve its own problems), and the commitment of the network's membership.

Does this view relate to any theoretical models discussed in the literature? Chris Argyris, in his book Intervention Theory and Method: A Behavioral Science View, espouses views about ideal system operation that are very similar to those acted on by R/UDAT. Briefly stated, Argyris holds the view that a system which operates effectively should rely on:

1) valid and useful information,

2) free, informed choice, and

3) internal commitment.

His view is based on the assumptions that: 1) it is the interventionist's task to promote the self-reliance and problem-solving capabilities of the client system; and, 2) the interventionist should be concerned with the system as a whole, even though his initial contact may have been with only a few people.[6] Argyris assumes that a system that requires intervention is one in which the three conditions stated above either do not exist or do not exist to a sufficient degree.

It is clear that both of Argyris' assumptions and two of his three conditions match the implicit view of an ideal system held by R/UDAT. (The one condition that is not shared being that of free, informed choice.)

With this much correlation existing between the two strategies, it seems that further study of Argyris' ideal conditions and their implications is in order. Such a study will allow us to test the completeness of the implicit theory upon which R/UDAT intervention is based.

Valid and Useful Information

Valid information is defined by Argyris as "that which describes the factors, plus their interrelationships, that create the problem for the client system."[7] Argyris lists the tests for checking the validity of information as: 1) public verifiability, 2) valid prediction, and 3) control over the phenomena. These are defined as follows:

> The first is having several independent diagnoses suggest the same picture. Second is generating predictions from the diagnosis that are subsequently confirmed (they occurred under the conditions that were specified). Third is altering the factors systematically and predicting the effects upon the system as a whole.[8]

Of these three tests, only the first seems to be applicable to the R/UDAT program since the city building network is clearly far too complicated and changeable to allow for the prediction of outcomes required by the latter two tests. The first test, however, can be very usefully applied to R/UDAT, since it suggests that information can only be considered valid if it pertains directly to the problem faced by the client system, and that the problem can only be defined as such if it is verified by several independent diagnoses.

The implication of this for the R/UDAT program is that the problem to be addressed by a visiting team in any given city should be verified as "the problem" by at least several different groups. Furthermore, Argyris' framework suggests that only the information relevant to the problem should be used by the R/UDAT team to help solve the problem. While both of these

suggestions may sound self-evident, the requirements established by the R/UDAT program do not coincide.

Determination of the problem, according to the R/UDAT Handbook, is the task of the local sponsor in the city to be visited. The assessment made by the local sponsor is then verified through site visits made by an A.I.A. Urban Planning and Design Committee member and by the chairman of the team. The visits, as stated earlier, are conducted prior to the actual R/UDAT visit. Does this qualify as "public verifiability" in Argyris' terms? Are three separate assessments enough to determine the nature of the problem to be addressed by a R/UDAT team?

Argyris answers this in general terms when he states:

> ...the interventionist's diagnoses must strive to represent the total client system and not the point of view of any subgroup or individual. Otherwise, the interventionist could not be seen only as being under the control of a particular individual or subgroup, but also his predictions would be based upon inaccurate information and thus might not be confirmed.[9]

We are thus left with the question, is the problem assessed by "the total client system" in the R/UDAT strategy? Or, does the local sponsor truly represent the building network of its city? Clearly, this differs in each of the cities that have been visited by a R/UDAT team. (The next chapter will, among other things, address this question to each visit.) But in general it must be noted that the A.I.A. does not require that the problem be determined by independent assessments of the various groups that make up the network. Rather, the A.I.A. asks that the local sponsor determine the problem and that a variety of community groups simply write letters of support for the visit. While it could be assumed that a letter of support would be premised on an understanding and acceptance of the problem to be addressed, it will be shown later that common understandings

do not always exist among local groups. In such cases, the visit becomes an exercise in problem determination rather than problem resolution -- a laudable exercise, but not the one for which the program was established.

Only after the problem is determined should the relevant information be collected, Argyris suggests. The R/UDAT program, however, provides a list of the information that should be sent to team members of any team as a part of the information sent to all prospective R/UDAT cities. The list is not related to specific problems. It reads as follows:

maps
- location and region
- municipal and county boundaries
- geodetic and topographical information
- roads
- important places
- parks, forests, lakes, bus and train routes
- historic sites

photos -- aerial and otherwise to set forth the character of the study area

statement of problems in formal application

population statistics
- growth or decline in past 10 years
- projected growth or decline
- age and sex breakdown

economic data
- past and projected commercial and industrial values
- where and what the jobs are
- land values
- tax information

zoning, land ordinances, regulations and maps
- master plan
- recent studies
- brochures to attract industry, tourists
- growth control measures

preservation data
- historic landmark inventory
- local history
- archeological and pre-history data
- environmental concerns

list of materials that will be available to the team during the visit
laws
previous studies
materials too bulky for packet.[10]

The comprehensive nature of what the A.I.A. considers to be useful information suggests either that the A.I.A. assumes that its teams will always face the same problems in any city and that these problems will always be comprehensive in nature, or it assumes that the problems will be redefined once a team arrives and, therefore, information related only to a specific problem will not ultimately be sufficient for the team. In any case, the A.I.A. does not ask that the city issue to the team only the information relevant to a specific problem, but rather asks that all cities issue very general information regardless of the problem to be addressed by the team. (While in actual practice cities may issue information that is different, and more specific, than that requested by the A.I.A., the concern of this chapter, the reader is reminded, is with the overall strategy of the R/UDAT program, and not with the individual visits.)

The type of information requested by the A.I.A. is, in fact, so comprehensive that it is easy to predict at this point that most teams deal with broadly defined problems and perform the function of scheming for the local network -- drawing up ideal schemes for the future form of the city.

Free, Informed Choice

> Free and informed choice entails...selecting the alternative with the highest probability of succeeding, given some specified cost constraints. Free choice places the locus of decision making in the client system. Free choice makes it possible for the clients to remain responsible for their destiny. Through free choice the clients can maintain the autonomy of their system.[11]

Although the R/UDAT strategy of intervention implies that the "client system" should be autonomous from the interventionists, that it should not rely on repeated R/UDAT visits, the program as currently structured does not ask that its teams present their clients with alternatives. And, in fact, few teams do. Teams typically offer specific recommendations and dispense them to cities much in the way a physician dispenses medicine to an ailing patient -- no alternative medicines are offered, and the reasons for arriving at a certain prescription are not always given.[12] As noted earlier, this is the one condition in which the implicit R/UDAT strategy is at odds with the theoretical counterpart provided by Chris Argyris.

Internal Commitment

> Internal commitment means the course of action or choice that has been internalized by each member so that he experiences a high degree of ownership and has a feeling of responsibility about the choice and its implications.[13]

Argyris implies in this definition that each member of a system must not only be committed to the goals of the system but also to making changes in the operation of the system to ensure that it operates effectively. Applying this to the R/UDAT program means that the commitment of each of the groups making up the city building network should be obtained before the intervention takes place. It also means that each of these groups should be involved in the visit. Both of these actions are required by the R/UDAT program. But are the groups that the A.I.A. asks to support and participate in a visit truly representative of the entire city building network? It seems that a closer look should be made at who the A.I.A. asks to support and participate in a visit. This can, perhaps, best be done by comparing the A.I.A.'s suggestions with the description of the

network given in Chapter 1 of this study.

Concerning support for a visit, the R/UDAT Handbook asks that a city's application include letters of endorsement from:

> ...mayor, council, county officials, and their planning agencies; community leaders such as Chambers of Commerce and service organizations; special interest groups such as arts councils, historic building societies, groups which might include churches, block organizations, ethnic groups, neighborhood clubs and citizens. The local A.I.A. Chapter must endorse the visit.[14]

A quick review of this list reveals that it falls short by not including those who package and those who build. It also includes only the local A.I.A. Chapter and planning officials as designers, and it overlooks an important group of promoters: the media. If Argyris' suggestion that "each member" of the system should be included is to be taken seriously, then other groups -- developers, bankers, regional HUD officials, labor unions, landscape architects, traffic engineers, and the media -- should be added to the list. This is not to say that absolute support from every one of these groups must be ensured before a R/UDAT visit should be conducted -- surely the political climate in any city would rarely allow such consensus. It is only to suggest that the A.I.A. should consider the view it implicitly carries concerning who effects the development of a city.

Also listed in the R/UDAT Handbook are groups that should be invited to participate in the visit during the two days of public meetings. The A.I.A.'s list includes:

> mayor, council and administration
> planning board and planners
> county/regional authorities and agencies
> Chamber of Commerce
> downtown businessmen
> League of Women Voters
> historic groups, churches
> service organizations
> developers, real estate people

special purpose authorities such as transit or housing
environmental groups such as Sierra Club
educational representatives of school system, college or university
neighborhood groups
PTA's
NAACP
senior citizens
teenagers
ethnic groups
resource people to deal with problems such as:
- jobs and incomes
- welfare problems
- crime
- recreation
- elderly
- participation in economic life
- housing
- transportation
- schools[15].

Missing in this list are again the builders and, surprisingly, the designers. While it could be expected that a great deal of informal interchange would take place between the visiting team and local designers, such interchange removes the local designers from the local network in the eyes of both the team and other members of the network. On actual visits designers are not always removed in this way, but as a general strategy the A.I.A. list appears incomplete. This points out that the A.I.A. should perhaps consider the view it implicitly carries concerning the political bonds it is helping to form or to prevent during the R/UDAT visit. Reviews by outsiders can be used very effectively to bring together local groups in associations that are not common in the workaday world.

The kind of commitment that should be desired most by the R/UDAT program, however, is that shown by follow-up after the visit. The purpose of the intervention is, after all, to help the community learn to solve its own problems and not to become dependent on repeated consultation. The R/UDAT program considers follow-up at the local level to be the task of the

local task force or steering committee that sponsored the visit. The program, therefore, encourages a broad representation of the community on the local steering committee. This recommendation, however, has come about only recently[16] -- steering committees for early visits were composed almost exclusively of local A.I.A. members.

Conclusions

What has been learned by uncovering the R/UDAT strategy of intervention and by comparing it to a theoretical model? We have discovered that the R/UDAT strategy: 1) does not require that the problem to be addressed by the interventionists should be agreed upon by all members of the system; 2) nor does it require that the information supplied to the interventionists be related only to the problem to be addressed; 3) nor does the strategy require that its teams offer alternative choices to their clients; and 4) the strategy does try to ensure the commitment of the members of the system, but that the A.I.A.'s understanding of who makes up the system seems incomplete.

If it can be assumed that the general strategy recommended by R/UDAT is used as a guide for the process used in most of the actual visits (if we can assume, broadly, that the network is defined in the same way, that applications are submitted as requested, that the information given to the teams is similar to that discussed in the Handbook), then several hypotheses can be suggested as tests of the defects of the strategy chosen.

It would seem, first of all, that many problems are likely to be defined in very general terms, since the program guidelines assume that a very broad range of information will ultimately be of use to the team. It follows that many teams are likely to play the role of schemers given the

type of information requested by the A.I.A. It would also seem that many of the cities would request subsequent visits by R/UDAT teams or other consultants, given the fact that alternative choices are not offered in the teams' recommendations and, thus, the autonomy of the system (to make its own choices, to set its own course) is not encouraged. And, finally, it would seem that those visits in which members of all parts of the network participate are more likely to be successful at ultimately improving the design process of their city and are thus less likely to request return visits.

Before these hypotheses can be tested against the actual team visits, however, a more basic understanding is needed concerning where these visits have been conducted and what they have produced. The next chapter provides that information.

Footnotes

1. James V. Clark, "A Healthy Organization," in The Planning of Change, 2d ed., ed. Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Benne, Robert Chin (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 283.

2. Chris Argyris, Intervention Theory and Method: A Behavioral Science View (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1970), p. 15.

3. The Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team (R/UDAT) Subcommittee, R/UDAT Handbook (Washington, D.C.: The American Institute of Architects, January 1, 1980), p. 17.

4. Interview with John Gaillard, Director of Urban Programs for the American Institute of Architects, Washington, D.C., October 2, 1980.

5. Ibid.

6. Argyris, p. 16.

7. Ibid., p. 17.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., p. 18.

10. The R/UDAT Subcommittee, pp. 20, 21.

11. Argyris, pp. 18, 19.

12. See pages 61 to 66 for a description of the roles played by teams; and pages 51 to 58 for a description of the types of recommendations offered.

13. Argyris, p. 20.

14. The R/UDAT Subcommittee, p. 17.

15. Ibid., pp. 31-33.

16. Interview with Charles Redmon, current Chairman of the R/UDAT Subcommittee of the Urban Planning and Design Committee of the American Institute of Architects, Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 18, 1980.

CHAPTER 4: DESCRIPTION OF COMPLETED VISITS

Descriptions often generate more questions than answers. This description of the R/UDAT program is likely to be no exception. In learning where the visits have been held, what kinds of problems R/UDAT's have addressed, what kinds of recommendations have been made by the teams, and which recommendations have been acted on by the cities, the reader is likely to wonder what to make of it all more often than the author discloses. The purpose of this chapter, however, is only to describe. Some of the reader's questions will be answered in the analysis offered in the next chapter, which responds to the hypotheses generated in the previous chapter. Many questions, however, are likely to remain unanswered. These will have to remain as areas where further study is needed.

The information provided in this chapter is drawn from team visit reports, U.S. Census statistics,[1] and an evaluation of the R/UDAT program that was conducted by the A.I.A.[2] Although sixty-six visits have been conducted to date, only fifty-one reports were available to the author. Therefore, where visit reports are used as the sole source of information, the total sample size is fifty-one. Where the other sources are used, however, sample sizes are more likely to approach sixty-six. All sample sizes are noted on the tables presented in the text and in the Appendix. References to "regions" of the country indicate the four regions defined by the U.S. Department of the Census and are shown on Figure 1 in the Appendix.

City Characteristics

Forty-two percent of the R/UDAT visits conducted to date have been in the South. Twenty-six percent have been conducted in the North Central region; 18% in the West; and 14% in the Northeast (see Appendix, Figure 1).

	Number of R/UDAT Visits	% Total Visits	% U.S. Population
Northeast	9	14%	24%
North Central	17	26%	28%
South	28	42%	31%
West	12	18%	17%
TOTAL	66	100%	100%

Table 1: Regional Location of R/UDAT Visits Compared to Regional Distribution of U.S. Population

A study of the populations of cities visited by R/UDAT teams shows that 59% of the cities have populations of less than 100,000; 38% have populations of less than 50,000; and 20% have populations between 100,000 and 200,000. Only one city population is greater than one million (Detroit, Michigan), but fourteen cities fall in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) of over one million. In general, cities visited by R/UDAT teams have higher populations than the U.S. average (see Table 2).

The proportion of black residents in cities visited by R/UDAT's is slightly higher than the U.S. average (12.2% versus 10.3%). Cities visited in the Northeast region of the country average black populations nearly double that of the Northeast regional norm (17.1% versus 8.9%), and cities visited by R/UDAT's in the West average black populations that are half that of the Western norm (2.5% versus 4.9%). (See Table 3.)

Forty-six of the sixty-six cities visited (70%) had gained population from 1960 to 1970. All but one city (Butte, Montana) visited in the West had grown in this ten year period; two-thirds of all cities visited in the South and North Central regions had grown; and only one-third of the cities visited in the Northeast had gained population (see Table 4).

Generally, the number of families below the poverty level in R/UDAT cities in 1970 is slightly higher than the national average (10.5% versus 8.6%). The highest numbers of families below poverty level occurs in cities in the South (with Laredo, Texas as the extreme at 39.4%); the lowest numbers occur in cities in the West (see Table 5).

Other interesting characteristics include the fact that nearly one-third of the cities visited by R/UDAT's are state capitals (with eleven state capitals among the thirty-six states in which visits have occurred),

	NORTHEAST		NORTH CENTRAL		SOUTH		WEST	
Population	Cities	SMSA's	Cities	SMSA's	Cities	SMSA's	Cities	SMSA's
< 2500			1					
2500-5000			2					
5000-10,000	1		1				1	
10,000-25,000					7		4	
25,000-50,000	2		3		2		2	
50,000-100,000	3	1	3		8	1	1	
100,000-250,000	1	1	5	5	7	6	1	1
250,000-500,000	1	2	1	3	3	6		1
500,000-1,000,000	1	1	2	2	1	6	3	2
1,000,000+		3	1	4		3		4
TOTAL	9		19*		28		12	

*Medford, Spooner, Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti all tabulated separately.

Table 2: Ranges of Populations of Cities and SMSA's Visited by R/UDAT's, by Region

	NORTHEAST		N. CENTRAL		SOUTH		WEST		TOTALS	
	U.S.	R/UDAT	U.S.	R/UDAT	U.S.	R/UDAT	U.S.	R/UDAT	U.S.	R/UDAT
% White	90.4	82.2	91.3	89.8	80.3	80.0	90.2	95.8	88.1	86.9
% Black	8.9	17.1	8.1	9.4	19.1	19.5	4.9	2.5	10.3	12.1

Table 3: Racial Composition of Cities Visited by R/UDAT's, by Region

% Population Change 1960-1970	NORTHEAST		NORTH CENTRAL		SOUTH		WEST		TOTALS	
-20 to -10	1	6	1	5	2	8	1	1	5	20
-10 to 0	5		4		6				15	
0 to +10		3	6	14	6	18	2	11	14	46
+10 to +20	1		2		5				8	
+20 to +30	2		3		1		3		9	
+30 to +40			1		1		3		5	
+40 to +50			2				1		3	
+50 to +60					2				2	
+60 to +70										
+70 to +80					3		1		4	
> +80							1			

Table 4: Percent Change in Populations from 1960 to 1970 of Cities Visited by R/UDAT's, by Region

% Families Below Poverty Level	NORTHEAST	NORTH CENTRAL	SOUTH	WEST	TOTALS
0 - 2					
2 - 4	1	1	2	1	5
4 - 6	1	3	2		6
6 - 8	1	6	1	5	13
8 - 10	2	5	2	5	14 --*
10 - 12	2	2	3	1	8
12 - 14	1		4		5
14 - 16		1	4		5
16 - 18	1		6		7
18 - 20			1		1
20 - 22			2		2
22 - 24					
24 - 26					
26 - 28					
28 - 30					
30 - 32					
32 - 34					
34 - 36					
36 - 38					
38 - 40			1		1

*National average = 8.6%

Table 5: Percentage of Families Below Poverty Level in Cities Visited by R/UDAT's, by Region

and the fact that fifteen of the sixty-six cities, 23%, have a school of either architecture or planning or both within their boundaries (see Appendix, Table 11).

Problem Types

As has been explained, the problems that a team is to address are initially defined by the local steering committee which sponsors the visit. It has also been noted that preliminary visits are conducted by a member of the R/UDAT committee and by the team chairman prior to the actual R/UDAT visit, and that part of the purpose for these visits is to further clarify the problems that the team is to address. Thus before the visit even takes place, the problem has, usually, been redefined. And it should be no surprise to learn that once the team begins the visit and looks over the city, the problem is defined yet again. Thus in discussing the types of problems faced by R/UDAT teams, we must first ask the question: which problem? Since there is significant difference between the problem as defined by the local sponsor and as redefined by the team, it seems important to consider both.

Studying the size of the physical areas which bound the problems faced by R/UDAT teams gives an initial understanding of the scope of most problems. Such a study can be made by reviewing the problem statements issued by local steering committees and the recommendations ultimately made by visiting teams, each of which are related to some area of the city. (Table 12 in the Appendix shows the areas considered in each of the cities studied thus far by R/UDAT's.)

Table 6 shows that local steering committees most frequently defined their problems as city-wide, with 20 of 51 (39.2%) defined in this way.

	As Defined by Local Steering Committee		As Redefined by R/UDAT Team	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Entire City	20	39.2	27	52.9
Entire Region or County	4	7.8	4	7.8
CBD	17	33.3	12	23.5
Neighborhood	4	7.8	4	7.8
Park	4	7.8	4	7.8
Transportation Corridor	2	3.9	0	0
Totals	51		51	

Table 6: Study Areas as Defined by Local Steering Committees and by R/UDAT Teams

The table also shows that seven R/UDAT teams chose to expand their original task to the city-wide scale -- two visits were initially defined as studies of transportation corridors and five had been defined as central business district studies. This brings the total number of visits which eventually considered city-wide issues to 27 of 51 (52.9%).

What is the nature of these problems, and how are they described? Problems are most commonly described in physical terms. Secondly, local sponsors ask for help in solving economic problems, and lastly they refer to undesirable social or procedural conditions. In addition, many cities ask for help in all of these areas and some cities aren't sure what their problems are and ask R/UDAT teams to help pinpoint them. (See Tables 13 through 16 in the Appendix.)

Of the physical problems, the most common are land use questions, with many local groups asking for assistance in drawing up development plans for the entire city or region, and with other local groups asking for a team's advice on the use of a particular parcel or corridor. Thus, Fairfax County, Virginia and Olympia, Washington (among others) asked R/UDAT to offer development plans and policies to help them manage land use changes caused by growth; Jersey City, New Jersey asked specifically for suggestions for the uses to be made of the upland acreage of Liberty State Park; and Lincoln, Nebraska asked for reuse plans for a corridor acquired by the city for a highway. Other common physical problems include issues of circulation and parking, the design of waterfronts, and the "imageability" of a city or region.

Economic questions are usually important parts of problems faced by R/UDAT teams, although local steering committees don't often describe their problems clearly in economic terms, but rather describe the physical

effects. The "Charge to the Team" outlined by the Middle Georgia Chapter of the A.I.A. for a study of Macon, Georgia serves as an example:

> Suggest potential solutions for problems of the CBD -- typified by declining retail sales and departure of stores -- and including:
> -- vacant upper floors
> -- out-of-town shopping
> -- parking inadequacies
> -- trade turning principally to lower income and minority groups and crime increasing
> -- ineffectual historic preservation
> -- underutilization of the waterfront
> -- traffic access insufficiency.[3]

The only cities asking teams to deal with social problems were those which stated their problems in extremely broad terms. These cities were essentially asking the team to define their problems for them. The best examples of cities in this group are those of Corpus Christi, Texas and Phoenix, Arizona. Corpus Christi's problem statement reads as follows:

> The charge to the visiting team was to consider the present and projected economic, cultural, political and social conditions of the city and to show how good planning and development strategies would improve the city's future.[4]

And Phoenix asks:

> What are the options that appear to exist with respect to mobility, life-style and urban form in the further development of metropolitan Phoenix?[5]

One of the few cities which asked a R/UDAT to assist them with procedural problems is that of Birmingham, Alabama. Birmingham's report clearly states:

> The R/UDAT team...has been asked to assist with the advancement of the planning process of the City of Birmingham.[6]

A more specific and rather common problem type which is rooted in all four of these categories is that of growth. Although it is difficult to be statistically exact (since problem statements are not always terribly

clear), at least sixteen of sixty-four cities or regions, 25%, asked R/UDAT teams to help them solve problems related to growth.[7] The most commonly repeated concern among these cities was the desire to mitigate the physical effects of growth: most wanted to maintain the existing quality of their countrysides. Also of concern were the organizational changes in local governments that would be required for effective growth management.

Problem types cannot be easily correlated to regions of the country since in all four regions the majority of visits dealt with the city as a whole, and the second largest number of visits in all regions dealt with central business districts (see Table 7). The South has the largest number of visits in both of these categories with 58% and 31%, respectively. Of the sixteen localities that defined their problems as related to growth, six are situated in the South, six in the West, four in the North Central region, and not surprisingly, none are in the Northeast.

Recommendations

Recommendations made by R/UDAT teams usually come in the form of suggestions for physical change. Less often, teams recommend the implementation of social programs, development incentives, or changes in the political structure or planning process used by the city. Regardless of the subject they address, however, an important feature of R/UDAT recommendations is that there are so many of them. In almost every city studied, the number of recommendations offered far exceeded the number of problems posed.

The fewest number of recommendations are those which specifically address social issues (see Appendix, Table 14). Typical of these are the suggestions that a city provide relocation services for displaced families

	Northeast		North Central		South		West	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Entire City	4	44	9	53	15	58	6	55
Entire County or Region	0	0	2	12	2	8	1	9
CBD	2	22	4	24	8	31	2	18
Neighborhood	2	22	1	6	0	0	1	9
Park	1	11	1	6	1	4	1	9

Table 7: Study Areas Defined by R/UDAT Teams, by Region

(Akron, Ohio), or that the city provide additional services for the health and educational needs of its residents (Trenton, New Jersey). None of these recommendations, however, are very thoroughly discussed and rarely are implementation mechanisms clearly identified. In spite of this, most recommendations (physical, economic, procedural) clearly have unstated social implications.

The next fewest number of recommendations concern economic issues (see Appendix, Table 15). Types of economic recommendations include business assistance programs, industrial assistance programs, housing subsidies, and measures which are designed to improve the city's tax base. Many recommendations suggest that a development corporation be formed, one of which (Honolulu) was recommended to be granted a $500 million bonding authority. Other recommendations range from the creation of a State Housing Finance Agency (Tacoma, Washington) to charging a toll on a local bridge (Fort Smith, Arkansas). Perhaps the most thorough economic study was done in the Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan R/UDAT, in which the existing economic base of the area was analyzed and the three options for growth that form the basis of the team's recommendations were compared for the amount of increase in property tax valuation each would provide. While economic troubles have always been at the root of the problems of many R/UDAT cities, recommendations for solving these problems have only become more prevalent in the later visits. Those that have been offered are more commonly general policy statements rather than specific mechanisms.

Issues concerning the process through which a city plans is an area in which an especially high number of recommendations are made above and beyond the number of problems initially posed by the city (see Appendix, Table 16). The most common recommendation in this regard concerns the

organization of the local government. Teams are fond of suggesting that the city either create an urban design department, reconstitute its existing departments, or consolidate several departments. While most of these new departments are intended to focus on physical development, at least one team (Birmingham, Alabama) recommended that a Department of Economic and Social Development should be created.

In addition to the frequent suggestion that a new city agency be formed, many teams recommend that consultants should be hired to study specific issues. Among those recommended were traffic planners, economic consultants, urban designers, and consultants to study government reorganization (see Appendix, Table 16).

Another common recommendation regarding planning process concerns community involvement. In keeping with the objectives of the R/UDAT program, many teams, nearly half, have recommended increased participation by citizen groups in planning. Recommendations range from the general suggestion that the local government attempt to involve citizens more actively to more specific suggestions which outline the powers and composition of a new community development corporation that should be formed. Cities rarely cite public interest and involvement as a problem, but teams often encourage an expansion of the public role as a step toward improving the physical quality of a city.

Typically, questions of planning process are discussed at the end of a team's report under the heading of implementation. The purpose of this section is to point out ways in which recommendations made earlier in the report can be carried out -- which agency should be responsible, what funding mechanisms might be used, or how decisions might be made. In comparison to the space devoted to the actual recommendations, implementation

sections are typically rather brief and less substantive.

There are, however, some notable exceptions to this emphasis. The team sent to Shreveport, Louisiana, for example, was asked to make recommendations for the revitalization of the downtown. While it did this, it also made an equal number of recommendations concerning the attitudes and organization of Shreveport residents and public officials toward planning. Unlike almost all other R/UDAT reports, the Shreveport team chose not to offer design suggestions in the form of drawings, saying it wanted to focus on "real strengths and problems and attainable goals rather than 'pie-in-the-sky' approaches."[8] The impact of this study thus lies in its implementation schemes, not in its design suggestions.

Another study which focused on process issues was that of Birmingham, Alabama. Unlike the Shreveport study, however, the problem statement issued to the visiting team in this case specifically asked it to concentrate on the planning process of Birmingham. The team did so and presented a clear set of recommendations which were oriented to Birmingham's neighborhoods, suggesting that neighborhood boundaries be clearly defined, that planning efforts be coordinated at the neighborhood level, and outlining the problems and opportunities faced by particular neighborhoods.

A final example of a study in which process issues were considered as seriously or more seriously than design schemes is that of Louisville, Kentucky. Acting largely as a mediator for several uncompromising local groups, the team strongly urged the city "to establish an appropriate PLAN and PROCESS"[9] and called for an officially mandated public participation process, a design review process, and an officially adopted Development Plan. The team also offered design suggestions, but presented only schematic drawings at a city-wide scale.

It has been shown that the scale of the area of study considered by R/UDAT teams is typically larger than the area initially suggested by the local sponsor. The physical recommendations ultimately made by the team, however, deal with both large and small scales. Typical large scale issues (labelled "City-wide" in Table 13 in the Appendix) include transportation, environmental protection, infrastructure, design regulations, and development schemes. Among these, the greatest number of recommendations fall into the category of development schemes. Included in this category are urban design plans, landscape plans, land use and zoning schemes, and growth plans. Schemessuch as these are so common in R/UDAT reports, in fact, that over half of all studies include one or more of them. It also happens that development schemes are the types of studies most often requested by cities of R/UDAT teams.

The most common suggestions in these schemes are pedestrian paths, gateways, nodes, open space networks, mixed use developments, downtown housing, trees, bikeways, sign ordinances, urban parks, wider sidewalks, and active waterfronts. Design schemes typically attempt to restrict the dominance of the automobile and to conceal parking areas. There is clearly a landscaping bias underlying the designs of R/UDAT teams, and it is one that is remarkably consistent. In addition, the typical advice to growing cities is that they control or contain their growth, with the suggestion that they use performance zoning standards and with the caution that they not neglect the older areas of the city.

The most typical small scale issues (labelled "Site Specific" in Table 13 in the Appendix) include building rehabilitation, circulation and parking, waterfront designs, "imageability," street appearance, historic preservation, parks and recreation, specific land use studies, and special

design projects -- typically a proposal for a convention center complex or a downtown mall. Among these, teams most commonly offer recommendations on questions of land use for specific parcels or areas. This is also a category in which most cities seek advice from R/UDAT teams. Other favorite recommendations concern issues of circulation and parking, street appearance, and special projects.

The last among these -- what I have called "special design projects" -- is a category in which nearly one-third of all teams have offered recommendations, but in which no city asked for advice. Special projects are offered as suggestions of an ideal form or activity for a particular part of a city. These projects serve the dual purpose of providing a vision of the future of a place, and of generating the interest and involvement of the public in designing and using their city, whether in the long-term or short-term.

For long-term results, special projects appear as building projects, usually in the downtown, which are intended to serve as a new focus for the community and to single-handedly improve the economy, raise morale, and establish new aesthetic standards. Such projects offer a small-scale utopian vision of a city and provide material for the debates and dreams of those the R/UDAT team leaves behind when the visit concludes. A good example of this type of special project is the new "Place" recommended for the center of Bellaire, Texas. The proposal realigned a major boulevard in the downtown to create space for a new high-rise, multi-use complex which would serve as the symbol of the new Bellaire and which would "create a special trend in Bellaire's financial and visual future."[10] And, of course, "The 'spirit' of the newly created space will be greatly enhanced by landscaping, fountains, flags, benches and lighting."[11]

Short-term special projects appear as projects which can be carried out nearly as soon as the R/UDAT team leaves town. They are seen as "quick victories"[12] and serve to continue the involvement of the public that was generated by the R/UDAT visit itself. Examples include street fairs, wall murals, clean-up programs, art shows, farmers' markets, and tree planting programs.

In summary, the types of recommendations made by R/UDAT teams cover a wide range of issues and scales but are most commonly physical and city-wide. The types of recommendations have not changed over time although the number of recommendations offered by any given team has grown more extensive. Also, recommendations are not typically affected by budgetary constraints, nor are they typically presented within any particular time frame. In general, most recommendations respond to what most cities ask for: city-wide development schemes.

Results

Which of these recommendations have been acted on by the cities? Were there any unintended effects of R/UDAT visits? Through an extensive series of telephone interviews which sought reactions from a number of local participants in nearly half of the cities visited to date,[13] the A.I.A. has determined the following:

> The primary result is community coalition. Political decision-making and changes resulting from public pressure are by nature incremental over long periods of time. This is even more true in situations requiring expenditures of large amounts of money, a condition that pertains to most urban design actions. So the staying power of the R/UDAT supporters, and their continuing energy year-by-year, becomes the most important lever for implementation.
>
> If a working coalition does not form, often a determined individual or a small group takes on the task of keeping up the pressure. R/UDAT can establish the setting in which these individuals emerge and flourish and can give

> them the tools to work with.
>
> Even if R/UDAT inspires only one or two people in a community who keep pushing the recommendations, some very solid successes result. An important indicator of broad participation is that these individuals emerge from all sectors of the community: the city, the A.I.A., business, community activists, or the press.
>
> Lastly, a prime though intangible result of R/UDAT's has been their impact on the local A.I.A. Chapter, in terms of image, involvement in government policy, and frequently more commissions.[14]

In general, however, many recommendations have not been acted on, and some results occur in areas where recommendations were not even made (see Appendix, Tables 13-16). As noted in the A.I.A. report, the greatest number of results, by far, concern procedural issues; the fewest concern economic and social issues. Physical results are more likely to be small scale "quick victories," than they are to be city-wide improvements. Generally, it is difficult to be terribly accurate about results since it is hard to know what would have happended in a city if the visit had not occurred and what actions came totally as a result of R/UDAT. However, based on the information provided in the telphone interviews and on magazine and newspaper articles which have discussed some of the results in particular cities, some direct results are apparent.

Among the results which concern the process through which a city plans, the most common is increased community involvement (see Table 16). Included in this category are citizen participation programs, the creation of neighborhood groups and community development corporations, and programs organized to educate citizens about planning issues. Some of these new citizens organizations are composed of the members of the local R/UDAT steering committee (Corpus Christi, Texas and Olympia, Washington, for example), and others are formed of residents of areas that were the focus of many R/UDAT

recommendations (for example, the West End neighborhood group that was formed in Trenton, New Jersey). An example of an educational program directed toward increased community involvement is the slide/tape show entitled "Choosing Our Future" created by residents of Phoenix, Arizona.

The next most common procedural result is increased involvement of the private sector. It is interesting that the private sector is rarely specifically targeted for increased involvement, but they frequently respond to R/UDAT recommendations by forming non-profit businessmen's organizations, or by increasing the involvement of existing organizations. The Chambers of Commerce in Laredo and Wichita Falls, Texas, for example, are leading the implementation of R/UDAT recommendations in their communities.

Other procedural results include changes in the composition or organization of local government agencies (which often means that an urban designer is hired), increased cooperation of all sectors, and the hiring of professional consultants. Tasks that consultants have been hired to do include land use plans, traffic studies, and market studies.

Compared to the number of recommendations made for physical change, very few results are apparent (see Table 13). The most common result (common to only six cities) concerns the establishment of historic preservation districts. Next most common are improvements in circulation and parking, and the establishment of development plans. Some development plans are translated into zoning legislation (Fairfax County, Virginia, for example), others are adopted as growth ordinances (Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan) or annexation policies (McMinnville, Oregon).

Other physical changes which have occurred as a result of R/UDAT visits include improvements in street appearance in several cities (new trees, benches, improved lighting), improved waterfronts, and the implemen-

tation of design regulations. While much new construction is affected by legislative policies that are adopted by cities as a result of R/UDAT recommendations, it is difficult to attribute much construction activity directly to R/UDAT. Exceptions are the convention center and city office building in Gainesville, Georgia and the rehabilitation of many buildings in downtown Springfield, Illinois.

In summary, it is clear that the overall impact of R/UDAT visits concern improvements in planning process rather than actual physical improvements. Time and again the responses of those interviewed in the A.I.A.'s telephone survey indicated that the most effective result of R/UDAT's are the coalitions formed by local development actors -- people now talk to each other and work together who never did before.

Teams and Their Roles

Over four hundred team members have participated in R/UDAT visits. Many of them, howver, have made more than one visit. It is nevertheless safe to say that over two hundred professionals have given their time and expertise to R/UDAT visits.

Of this number, the highest percentage, 46%, have defined themselves as some combination of the three roles of architect, urban designer, or planner (see Table 8). The next highest percentage, 10%, defined themselves as economists. The remainder came from professions as diverse as civil engineering and journalism, with a total of twenty-three different fields represented (see Appendix, Table 17). Teams have been formed in a variety of combinations and have grown both increasingly larger and more interdisciplinary over time. Early teams were typically composed of three or four members all of whom were either architects, urban designers, or planners. More recent teams are typically composed of eight or nine mem-

46%	architect/urban designer/planner (in some combination)
10	economist
9	planner
8	architect
5	transportation planner
4	attorney
3	landscape architect
2	sociologist
2	attorney/economist/planner (in some combination)
2	developer
1	ecologist
92%	
8%	Other
100%	

Table 8: Professional Composition of R/UDAT Teams

bers and draw expertise from a range of professions. Many team members appear to have some experience as public officials or as educators, but most seem to be in private practice.

The roles that teams have played on visits are nearly as various as the number of professions the team members represent. While it is difficult to speculate about the posture assumed by a team without having watched them in action, a reading of their reports shows that they have acted in at least four distinct capacities: as educators, as mediators, as advocates, and as what might best be called "healers." (See Appendix, Table 18.)

The last of these categories is the most common, characterizing over half of the teams. The term "healer" seems appropriate because teams who assume this role typically dispense solutions to ailing cities without much explanation, but with the understanding that if the city follows the team's directions, the city will be healed in due course. A common response of teams acting as healers is to refer the city to a specialist, advising it to hire a consultant trained specifically in the area where the city is suffering the most. Another function of teams playing this role is to further define the problems of a city. Often, although a detailed problem statement has been presented to the A.I.A. by the local visit sponsor and although the A.I.A. has further isolated the issues to be studied through the evaluation and reconnaisance visits, the team finds itself defining the problems yet again after spending a few days in the city. In such cases, recommendations often focus on what issues should be studied and by whom they should be studied -- local agencies or outside consultants. An example of just such a case is that of Bristol, Connecticut. While the team was called in to "suggest ways to break the

deadlocks [in downtown development] and to fill those too obvious gaps [of vacant land]," the recommendations of the team encouraged the city to establish a landscape plan, a capital improvement plan, a non-profit business assistance corporation, a non-profit housing corporation, and to hire outside design consultants.

The next most common role played by R/UDAT teams is that of educator. Most often the instruction is directed toward public officials, but it has also been directed toward community groups or to all sectors of the community. Teams as educators characteristically explain the latest funding mechanisms or regulatory tools and often lecture on ideal planning processes. Citizens' groups are typically advised to take planning more seriously and public officials are advised to be more innovative. Unlike teams that simply dispense solutions, teams that educate usually explain the logic behind their recommendations. An example of a team that played the role of educator to all sectors of the community was that sent to Lincoln, Nebraska. While the team was directly responsible to a local task force which carried the mandate of determining reuse plans for a transportation corridor, it chose to advise not only the task force but also the local government and neighborhood groups as well. The team offered development suggestions, described new zoning techniques, commented on the city's Comprehensive Plan, recommended coordination of development proposals, outlined funding sources, and offered an urban design scheme.

As far as can be determined through analyzing visit reports, teams that have acted as advocates have typically subscribed to the views of a citizens' group. An example of this is the study of the West End of Trenton, New Jersey, an economically depressed area suffering from the flight of many residents to the suburbs. The team echoed the comments of

local groups in calling for co-operative homeownership programs, marketing efforts, and improved health and educational programs.

Teams have only occasionally acted predominantly as mediators although surely this role is played out to some degree in nearly all visits. Two visits that perhaps saw the greatest conflict between local groups were those in Atlantic City, New Jersey and Louisville, Kentucky. The Atlantic City team chose to spend a great deal of its time simply reporting the views of the citizens to the local government. The Louisville team, on the other hand, recommended increased citizen participation in a new decision-making process intended to dispell the "climate of distrust" that existed between the various "warring camps" in the community.

Another way of analyzing the roles of visiting teams is to study them against the seven functions of the city building network defined in Chapter 1. By intervening in this network in any given city, the team actually carries out some of the functions of the network by making recommendations that pertain to most of them. In addition, in asking the team to address certain problems, the local sponsors are actually asking the team to intervene in certain areas of the network.

Wichita Falls, Texas, for example, asked the R/UDAT team to do four things: 1) review the Plan of the City and the Planning Division's work to date; 2) assess the needs and potential of midtown; 3) prepare design ideas and land use schemes for midtown; and 4) review tools and strategies for implementing the Plan. The city was, essentially, asking the team to help scheme, promote, coordinate, regulate, and package. In response, the team offered many urban design ideas (including land use, parking, traffic, urban parks, ideas for specific buildings); it discussed the limitations and potentials of the economic status of the city; and it suggested the

establishment of a non-profit development corporation to coordinate planning efforts in midtown. The team, essentially, helped the city scheme, coordinate, and package.

Table 19 in the Appendix shows the roles that teams have been asked to play by the cities. It shows that 45 of 51 (the number of available reports), or 88%, have been asked by local sponsors to scheme about their city's future. Areas that teams are asked to direct their attention to less often include coordination, regulation and packaging. It can be assumed, in addition, that R/UDAT teams because of their very nature are brought in by a city to act as promoters given the amount of community-wide attention they typically generate.

Table 20 in the Appendix shows that even more teams than were asked (51 of 51) have produced schemes for cities. It also shows that many teams (84%) directed some attention toward coordination efforts, and many also made recommendations concerning regulation (59%) and packaging (37%). And, again, it is assumed that all teams, by definition, have acted as promoters.

Because R/UDAT visits last only four days, however, these tasks aren't carried out to any great extent. The only one, in fact, that can be completed by a team is that of scheming, since schemes can be drawn up in nearly any length of time depending upon their degree of realism.

It should be made clear that the roles that are played by R/UDAT teams are not always as evident as portrayed here. Teams do not consciously set out to dispense schemes to a city, nor do they purposely try to teach the local planning agency how to coordinate community groups. Nonetheless, definite patterns have emerged in the roles teams have played.

Sponsorship

R/UDAT visits are most commonly funded by a combination of sources from a community -- public agencies, community organizations, businessmen's groups, and private individuals. Nearly 30% of the visits studied pooled the contributions of multiple sources to finance a R/UDAT. Roughly 25% of all visits were funded by a core group of organizations which includes, in some combination, a local public agency, a downtown organization and/or the local A.I.A. chapter. Roughly 10% were funded solely by a local public agency, and all other visits received support either from a downtown organization, a private grant, a state or regional agency, or from federal sources. Of those visits for which information is available, none relied on the local A.I.A. as the sole contributor, though it seems likely that for some of the early studies (whose sources aren't known) this may have been the case. The trend over time of financial supporters has been toward multiple sources -- a trend that is encouraged by the A.I.A. (see Appendix, Table 21).

The composition of local steering committees, however, shows a different pattern than that of funding sources. Nearly half, 49%, of the visits had steering committees made up exclusively of local A.I.A. members. More recently, however, local committees have been composed of representatives of many sectors of the community. Most of the multi-sector groups were formed especially to organize the R/UDAT visit, although some (those in Vancouver, Washington; Dalton, Georgia; and Lincoln, Nebraska) existed as task forces for other purposes as well. A less common, though significant, structure is that of two parallel committees -- one composed of A.I.A. members only and the other composed of a variety of different groups. Eight teams, 16%, have worked with dual sponsors of this sort. (See Appendix, Table 22.)

Footnotes

1. All population figures discussed in this chapter are drawn from: 1970 Census of the Population: Characteristics of the Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1973.

2. The R/UDAT Study Task Force, Felicia Clark, AICP, project coordinator, The R/UDAT Process: Research, Analysis and Change (Washington, D.C.: The American Institute of Architects, October 1, 1980).

3. R/UDAT, Macon 1975, American Institute of Architects, January 1975.

4. R/UDAT, Corpus Christi, American Institute of Architects, October 1978.

5. Metro Phoenix R/UDAT, American Institute of Architects, January 1974, p. 18.

6. Birmingham R/UDAT: Neighborhoods -- Communities, American Institute of Architects, October 1976, p. 5.

7. These sixteen cities are noted in Table 13.

8. R/UDAT Shreveport: Downtown Study, Shreveport Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, February 13-17, 1975, p. 6.

9. Louisville R/UDAT, American Institute of Architects, February 29-March 3, 1980.

10. Bellaire, Texas: Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team, American Institute of Architects, page 28.

11. Ibid.

12. R/UDAT Shreveport: Downtown Study, op.cit., p. 30.

13. Thirty-two cities were researched in this survey. The cities were chosen to strike a balance among four conditions: size, geographic location, rural vs. urban, and length of time since the R/UDAT visit. At least three local participatns were contacted in each city: a member of the local A.I.A. Chapter, a member of the local steering committee, and a member of city government (the mayor, city planning director, or other official responsible for carrying out the recommendations). Also, representatives of the media were contacted and newspaper clippings and other reports were reviewed. Conditions which produce some distortion in the survey include the length of time since the visit was held, and the memory and perceptions of the person interviewed. Also, while material results were easily identified, recommendations that are still being worked on but haven't yet been implemented were more difficult for respondents to appraise. This work is documented in: The R/UDAT Process: Research, Analysis and Change, published by the American Institute of Architects, October 1, 1980.

The work was conducted by Felicia Clark, AICP, project coordinator of the R/UDAT Study Task Force. The study process is described on pages 11-13 of that report.

14. Ibid., p. 19.

CHAPTER 5: TOWARD THE IMPROVEMENT OF R/UDAT INTERVENTION

With an understanding of the nature of actual R/UDAT visits, we can now turn back to the questions raised at the end of Chapter 3:

1) Are the problems faced by R/UDAT teams defined in general or specific terms?
2) Do teams play the role of schemers more often than they play the other six network roles?
3) How often do cities request subsequent visits by R/UDAT teams or other consultants?
4) Which cities request subsequent visits? Those in which many members of the city building network participated in the visit?

The first two questions probe at the effect of the range of information used to help define and inform the city's problems. It was shown in Chapter 3 that the information requested in the R/UDAT guidelines may not always be relevant to a city's problems (may not be "valid and useful"), and this information may therefore bring about loosely defined problems which teams can only respond to with loosely defined design schemes. It was suggested that loosely defined problems and solutions did not serve the intentions of the program, and thus if these conditions were discovered then the intervention strategy that the program uses is poorly conceived.

Based on the description given in Chapter 4, it is clear that problems are typically defined in general terms. Not only do most cities initially define the scope of problems as city-wide, but R/UDAT teams, once they arrive in the city, have often expanded their concerns to the city scale. And the number of issues that are focused on at this scale are not typically singular (transportation, for example), but are more likely to be multiple (transportation, recreation, urban design, land use, develop-

ment incentives, etc.). It was also shown in Chapter 4 that teams play the role of schemers more often and more effectively than they fill in for the promoters, coordinators, regulators, packagers, designers, or builders. Can we assume from this, as the theory would suggest, that the general way in which problems are defined and the equally general way in which teams respond ultimately hinders the effectiveness of the R/UDAT program? A closer look at the results of the visits will give us a clue.

The most common response of local participants interviewed in the A.I.A.'s telephone survey indicated that R/UDAT visits are most effective at improving the cooperation of development actors. Alliances were often formed by individuals or groups who hadn't worked together before, and the city's design process was consequently improved. This would seem to be an uncommon result for a program whose most evident function is to scheme about the form a city might take in the future. We can conclude, however, that the R/UDAT program is essentially using the act of scheming primarily to try to improve a city's design process, rather than simply to improve the city's future form. Local groups are brought together during the four day R/UDAT visit ostensibly to focus on design issues, but the impact of their coming together is that closer working relationships are formed. The impact has not been that the schemes produced in these four days become reality. This is an important discovery.

Knowing that the primary purpose of scheming is to bring people together so that working alliances can be formed, means that the act of scheming should be carefully organized to allow this to happen. It should not be organized to concentrate on the production of workable designs.

The implication of this for R/UDAT is that before the visit is

conducted the status of the local network must be carefully studied. If a network exists but parts of it are not functioning effectively, then it is crucial that the groups that make up these parts must be included in the meetings scheduled by the team. If a network doesn't seem to exist (if it is latent), then many groups should be asked to participate in the R/UDAT visit, in an attempt to make the network apparent and give it a chance to determine common values and goals. The status of the network should be diagnosed in the preliminary visits made to the city by the team chairman and a member of the Urban Planning and Design committee.

It is also possible, in these preliminary visits, to change the boundaries of the physical problem to better serve the interests of bringing together important local actors. A problem that is too large or nonspecific may seem too unmanageable to generate long-term interest. And a problem that is too small may exclude members of the network who need to be included if the entire network is to be improved. The physical problem must be carefully diagnosed in the preliminary visits, and it should not be focused on because it is the most flagrant eyesore but because it is the area upon which the interests of key local actors converge.

The attitude of the team toward the groups that are brought together during R/UDAT meetings is also important. Ideally, local participants should be truly engaged, during the visit, in the act of scheming so that working relationships can develop and the participants can continue to perform the functions of the network after the team has gone. Recommendations made by the team should reflect the contributions of local participants and where new ideas or techniques are presented, explanations should be offered revealing why the team feels they are appropriate. In short, a team which functions as "educators" is preferable to one which simply "dis-

penses solutions." Educating the local actors relieves them of dependence on repeated consultation.

What the "educators" teach the local groups, however, is also significant. It was shown in Chapter 4 that many recommendations recur in visit reports in spite of the fact that teams are composed of different members. This seems to indicate that teams are applying their design values to the cities they visit, rather than surfacing the preferences of local groups. And since most team members come from, or were educated in, metropolitan areas, the result is that urban values are being taught to the small town actors (since most R/UDAT's occur in towns with populations less than 100,000). Thus small towns across the country are encouraged to introduce pedestrian networks, gateways, open space systems, and active waterfronts to their town plans, and to use citizen participation and professional urban design staffs to bring these about.

In applying their own values in this way, teams are intervening in local networks in a non-normative way (using the terms discussed in Chapter 3). They are, essentially, telling the cities that if certain processes are used (design review boards, citizen participation, professional consultants, urban design staffs), a desired result will occur (improved physical environments). The teams are not encouraging the local groups to put in place the essential ingredients of a workable network (valid and useful information, free choice, internal commitment), and leaving the local actors to determine the best ways of institutionalizing these conditions. As discussed in Chapter 3, this latter view -- a normative view -- seems to be that which is implicitly advocated by the A.I.A., and is therefore the approach that the teams should be taking. By not approaching intervention in this way, R/UDAT teams are discouraging the

autonomy of the local networks and encouraging reliance on consultation.

One way of determining the effect of the approach taken by most teams is to ask how many cities have sought the advice of outside consultants after a visit by a R/UDAT team. An obvious indication of this is the number of cities that have asked for a return R/UDAT visit. The telephone survey conducted by the A.I.A. included a question which sought the reaction of respondents to a follow-up visit. Only one-tenth of those interviewed reacted negatively. Some cities, in fact, had already conducted follow-up visits on their own, having asked one or more of the team members to return.[1] Reasons for wanting follow-up visits include wanting to work out the means of implementation more carefully, wanting to see if the team feels progress has been made, the need for reactions to new conditions (a new mayor, new physical conditions, etc.), the need to spend more time on controversial areas or to provide a more effective transfer of knowledge to the locals. Respondents that didn't want follow-up visits said either that the city was doing well enough on its own, or that they wanted to commission other consultants, or that the first visit wasn't successful so why would they want a follow-up.

These responses seem to indicate that many cities want to rely on outside consultants. Even those cities with broadly-based steering committees that have continued to be active after the visit (and which would seem to have been most effective at developing the capabilities of the local network) are in favor of follow-up visits.[2] While it is common practice for cities to frequently hire planning and design consultants, such consultants are no replacement for a well-functioning informal city building network. The network should establish its own goals and objectives and should hire consultants to help bring these about -- not to decide what

the goals should be.

It would seem from the enthusiasm for follow-up visits that either: 1) the program has simply been unsuccessful in improving the autonomy of most networks, although it has tried (perhaps visits are too short or teams are not properly informed of their roles); or, 2) the program is actually not trying to improve the autonomy of local networks in spite of what the program objectives indicate. This confusion can only be resolved by the program directors.

To summarize, it is obvious that R/UDAT teams are called in to cities that have hit some sort of impasse in their development -- whether caused by economic distress, lack of leadership, inappropriate regulatory capacity, lack of technical expertise, or other conditions. Cities with well-functioning development networks don't ask for R/UDAT's help. It is crucial that the A.I.A. realize that design schemes are not likely to be implemented without an effective development network in place, and that the central task of R/UDAT teams is one of building up this network, not one of merely proposing design ideas. For cities with no apparent network, R/UDAT teams should spend their four days trying to surface the network. For cities with an existing but ineffective network, R/UDAT teams should discover the weak links before they arrive and spend the visit trying to strengthen connections among the parts of the network. While four days may be too short a period of time for long-term alliances to be firmly established, it is plenty of time for important contacts to be made which have the potential of developing into long-term associations.

Footnotes

1. Cities that have conducted follow-up visits on their own include: Shreveport, Louisiana; Wichita Falls, Texas; and Forest Park in St. Louis, Missouri.

2. Cities with especially active local steering committees include: Birmingham, Alabama; Tacoma, Washington; Corpus Christi, Texas; Laredo, Texas; and Olympia, Washington.

CONCLUSIONS

If the intervention strategy of the R/UDAT program is to be improved, some basic issues must be addressed by its directors, by the visiting teams, and by any city thinking of hosting a R/UDAT visit. Collectively, these questions stress the understanding of the R/UDAT task as one of network-building through the act of scheming. They also stress the importance of the autonomy of local networks and the role of visiting teams as short-term educators.

Questions to be addressed by the A.I.A.

1) Is the central task of the program to generate design ideas? Or is it to build up the local development network? The results have clearly shown that the program is more effective at the latter. If network-building is the central task, then the program directors should reconsider the requirements concerning the composition of local steering committees, definition of the problems, participation of local actors, purpose of preliminary visits, and the role and composition of the visiting teams. Until now, problems have been defined in physical terms, not network terms, and recommendations have corresponded. While scheming about physical problems should be the most visible activity during a R/UDAT visit, the purpose of scheming is to bring the local actors together, not to generate implementable designs.

2) What is the A.I.A.'s attitude toward consultation? Should cities depend on consultants or should they be self-reliant? Although it has been shown that some of the requirements of the program (i.e., the city must define the problem, the steering committee should continue with follow-up efforts, and team members are restricted from taking commissions) would

indicate that autonomy is encouraged by the A.I.A., this view isn't consistent. In order to make it consistent, the A.I.A. must define who makes up the network, how this network can best be represented on a steering committee, which local actors should define the problem, what information is relevant to the problem, and how a visiting team should interact with the local groups in a way that would encourage the autonomy of the network. The A.I.A. must be careful not to introduce a follow-up program which would promote the dependence of local groups on consultation. It must also be careful to inform team members that their primary task is to encourage network-building, and not to bring about dependence of the network on the team's advice.

Questions to be addressed by visiting teams

1) What problems exist with the local development network? Does the network exist? Are there missing links? These are the central questions for teams to address, and they should be answered before the visit begins and before the boundaries of the physical problem have been fixed.

2) How can the visit be structured to help the local network? Which local actors should participate? The scheduling and structure of visits should be organized around bringing together important local actors. Before the visit, the team must determine which are the crucial actors to involve, when their schedules will allow them to come together, what physical problem will engage them, what kinds of meetings will encourage their interaction (should all participants be active in scheming or should they simply inform the team of their concerns, as in a public hearing). The team must also be clear about the role it will play -- educator, mediator, or advocate. Also, the team should be composed of people who are effective in these roles.

3) How can the autonomy of the network be encouraged? Teams must consciously avoid making the local network dependent on their advice or that of other consultants. Technical knowledge might be shared which would free local groups of reliance on outside expertise, or recommendations could be made which would encourage regular meetings of critical actors in the network. Teams might also encourage immediate action on certain physical problems that would require certain network groups to work together.

Questions to be addressed by cities

1) Does a development network exist? Are there missing links? Of whom is the network composed? Do working relationships exist among these groups? The local group that sponsors the R/UDAT visit should address these questions in their application for a visit, thus giving the team chairman some idea of who to talk to in the preliminary visit and who should participate in the actual visit. The city sponsor should define the critical actors in the network, and should determine when the best time for them to come together would be. R/UDAT visits should not be held if the key actors cannot be present, or when their standing is likely to be changed -- an outgoing political administration, for example.

2) What physical problems are most glaring? Are they the result of a poorly functioning network? A lack of technical expertise? A lack of design ideas? Before the visit takes place, the local sponsor should attempt to determine the reasons for their problems. They should also determine whether scheming about these problems will be the best way to attract the interests of key local actors. The problem should not be defined as so extensive that key actors become uninterested, nor should it be so narrowly defined that key actors are excluded.

3) Will four days be enough time to begin the improvement of the city building network? Are longer-term consultants needed to mediate between groups? If a city buiding network is firmly in place but conflicts among its members have reduced its effectiveness, the city should question whether a four day visit can truly help solve its problems. The city should openly discuss the situation with the R/UDAT directors to determine whether or not a R/UDAT visit would help.

4) Does a representative group exist which could carry on the efforts that a R/UDAT team would begin? Can one be formed? Local groups must be formed which will carry on follow-up activities after the team leaves in order to lead the efforts of the local network in defining and addressing its problems.

While the R/UDAT program has proven in the past to be effective in some respects, it has achieved its effectiveness in a rather ad hoc fashion. Hopefully, this analysis has shown that, given some changes in the program's underlying strategy of intervention, the R/UDAT program could become even more effective in the future. If the questions listed on these last few pages are seriously addressed, a first step will be made in increasing the effectiveness of the R/UDAT program.

APPENDIX

Table 9: City Name and Date of R/UDAT Visit

1.	Rapid City, South Dakota	June 10-12, 1967
2.	Frankfort, Kentucky	November 11-14, 1967
3.	Flint, Michigan	October 19-21, 1968
4.	Bellefonte, Pennsylvania	October 27-29, 1968
5.	Mason, Michigan	April 13-14, 1969
6.	Redmond, Washington	October 17-20, 1969
7.	Lynn, Massachusetts	December 6-8, 1969
8.	Akron, Ohio	January 17-19, 1970
9.	Ely, Minnesota	July 18-20, 1970
10.	Davenport, Iowa	September 13-14, 1970
11.	Falls Church, Virginia	May 15-17, 1971
12.	Fairfax County, Virginia	April 21-24, 1972
13.	Clearwater, Florida	May 20-22, 1972
14.	Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia	June 3-5, 1972
15.	Butte, Montana	June 10-12, 1972
16.	McMinnville, Oregon	May 19-21, 1973
17.	Phoenix, Arizona	January 18-21, 1974
18.	Columbus, GA/Phenix City, AL	March 2-4, 1974
19.	Honolulu, Hawaii	April 6-9, 1974
20.	Wilson, North Carolina	May 3-6, 1974
21.	Warren County, Ohio	May 31-June 3, 1974
22.	Lafayette, Indiana	September 6-9, 1974
23.	Hendersonville, Tennessee	November 1-4, 1974
24.	Long Branch, New Jersey	January 10-13, 1975
25.	Macon, Georgia	January 10-13, 1975
26.	Shreveport, Louisiana	February 14-17, 1975
27.	New Rochelle, New York	April 26-28, 1975
28.	Reno, Nevada	September 17-21, 1975
29.	Wichita Falls, Texas	October 3-6, 1975
30.	Vancouver, Washington	October 17-20, 1975
31.	Atlantic City, New Jersey	November 14-17, 1975
32.	Bristol, Connecticut	November 21-24, 1975
33.	Denver, Colorado	February 6-9, 1976
34.	Dalton, Georgia	April 22-25, 1976
35.	Lexington, Kentucky	May 21-24, 1976
36.	Gunnison County, Colorado	September 10-13, 1976
37.	Birmingham, Alabama	October 1-4, 1976
38.	Moore County, North Carolina	October 8-11, 1976
39.	Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri	October 28-November 1, 1976
40.	Trenton, New Jersey	February 25-28, 1977
41.	Ft. Smith, Arkansas	March 11-14, 1977
42.	West Palm Beach, Florida	May 20-23, 1977
43.	Lansing, Michigan	June 4-7, 1977
44.	Portsmouth, Virginia	June 17-20, 1977
45.	Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ	September 23-26, 1977
46.	Tacoma, Washington	October 28-31, 1977
47.	Detroit, Michigan	June 2-5, 1978
48.	Lafayette, Louisiana	June 2-5, 1978
49.	Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan	June 23-26, 1978
50.	Corpus Christi, Texas	October 12-16, 1978
51.	Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin	November 2-5, 1978
52.	Bellaire, Texas	November 10-13, 1978
53.	Laredo, Texas	December 1-4, 1978
54.	Oldham County, Kentucky	December 1-4, 1978
55.	Knoxville, Tennessee	March 23-26, 1979
56.	Olympia, Washington	April 20-23, 1979
57.	Springfield, Illinois	April 27-30, 1979
58.	Kansas City, Missouri	May 29-June 3, 1979
59.	New Orleans, Louisiana	January 18-21, 1980
60.	Louisville, Kentucky	February 29-March 3, 1980
61.	Lincoln, Nebraska	March 28-31, 1980
62.	Hillsboro, Oregon	April 18-21, 1980
63.	Salisbury, Maryland	May 2-5, 1980
64.	South End, Boston, Massachusetts	May 9-12, 1980
65.	Wilmington, Delaware	May 16-19, 1980
66.	Topeka, Kansas	June 6-9, 1980

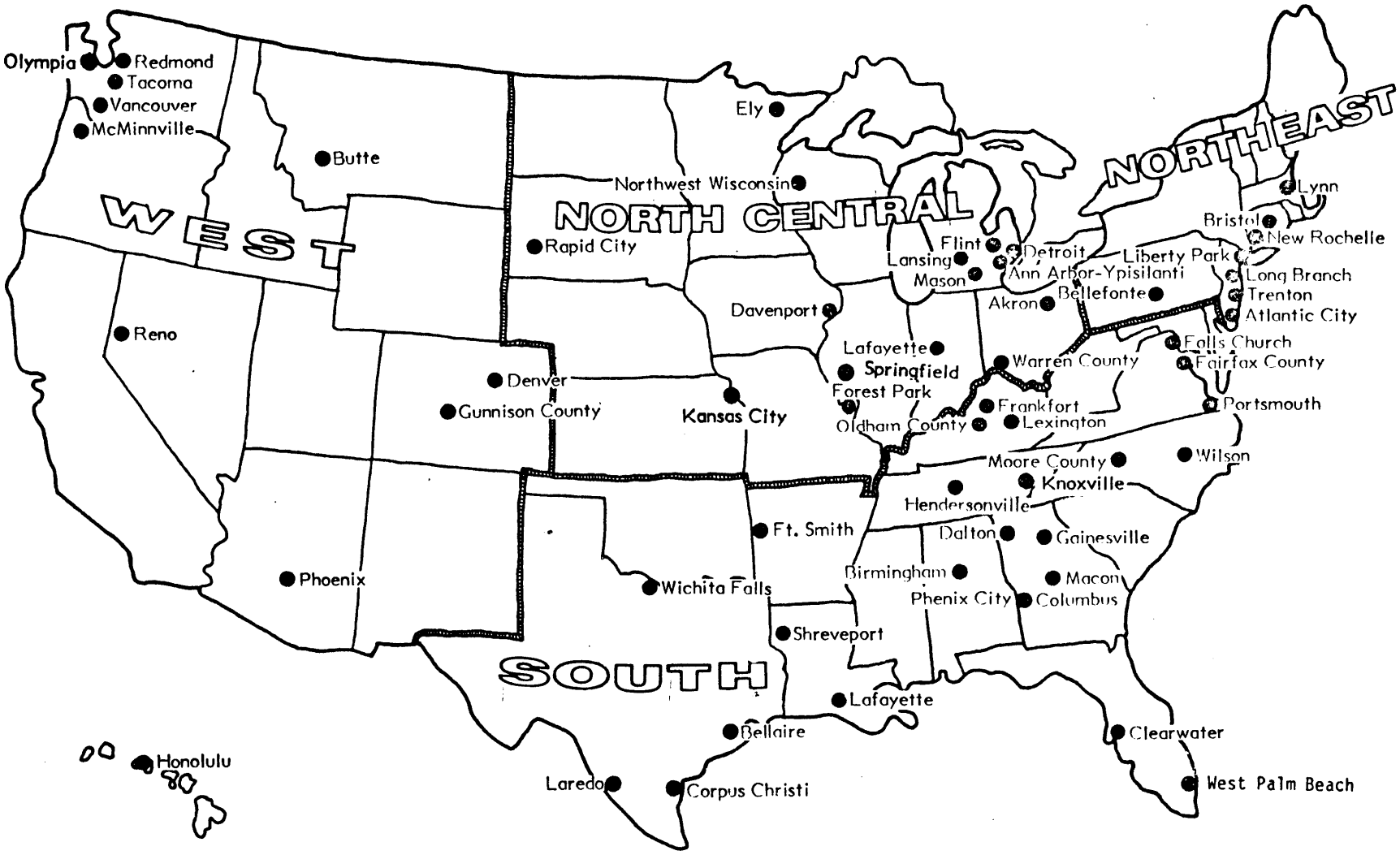

Figure 1: Location of R/UDAT's Prior to December 1980

Table 10: City Characteristics

		Pop. Total 1970	Total SMSA Pop. 1970	White Pop. %	Black Pop. %	Pop. Change 1960-1970	Families Below Poverty Level
1.	Rapid City, South Dakota	43,836	---	94.5	.3	3.4	10.7
2.	Frankfort, Kentucky	21,356	---	87.0	13.0	16.3	7.1
3.	Flint, Michigan	193,317	508,664	71.7	28.1	-1.8	9.5
4.	Bellefonte, Pennsylvania	6,828	---	99.0	.4	12.2	6.9
5.	Mason, Michigan	5,468	378,423	99.0	1.0	20.9	3.9
6.	Redmond, Washington	11,031	1,421,869	98.0	.4	673.6	2.3
7.	Lynn, Massachusetts	90,294	2,899,101	97.0	2.6	-4.4	8.4
8.	Akron, Ohio	275,425	679,239	82.2	17.5	-5.1	8.8
9.	Ely, Minnesota	4,904	---	99.0		-9.8	6.6
10.	Davenport, Iowa	98,469	362,638	95.5	4.2	10.7	7.4
11.	Falls Church, Virginia	10,772	921,237	98.0	1.0	5.7	3.2
12.	Fairfax County, Virginia	454,275	921,237		3.5	78.9	4.8
13.	Clearwater, Florida	53,543	1,088,549	88.5	10.9	54.5	8.2
14.	Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia	59,405	---		10.1	19.4	14.5
15.	Butte, Montana	23,368	---	98.0	.1	-16.2	9.4
16.	McMinnville, Oregon	10,125	---	97.0	.3	32.2	7.7
17.	Phoenix, Arizona	589,016	971,228	93.5	4.7	34.1	8.8
18.	Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL	167,377	238,584	73.9	24.2	12.6	16.4
19.	Honolulu, Hawaii	630,528	630,528	34.0	1.2	26.0	6.9
20.	Wilson, North Carolina	31,610	---	65.4	32.0	9.9	17.8
21.	Warren County, Ohio	85,505	1,384,851		1.5	30.1	8.7
22.	Lafayette, Indiana	44,955	109,378	98.5	1.3	6.2	5.0
23.	Hendersonville, Tennessee	11,996	541,108	98.0	2.0	---	4.3
24.	Long Branch, New Jersey	31,774	461,849	82.8	16.5	21.1	9.6
25.	Macon, Georgia	122,423	226,782	62.6	37.3	75.5	17.9
26.	Shreveport, Louisiana	182,064	336,000	66.3	34.1	10.8	16.5
27.	New Rochelle, New York	75,385	9,973,716	85.0	14.4	-1.9	5.4
28.	Reno, Nevada	72,863	121,068	95.9	2.2	41.6	6.1
29.	Wichita Falls, Texas	96,654	128,642	90.1	9.6	-5.0	11.1
30.	Vancouver, Washington	41,859	1,007,130	98.0	1.0	28.9	8.4
31.	Atlantic City, New Jersey	47,859	175,043	55.0	43.7	-19.6	16.9
32.	Bristol, Connecticut	55,487	69,878	98.9	1.0	22.0	3.7
33.	Denver, Colorado	514,678	1,239,545	89.3	9.1	4.2	9.4
34.	Dalton, Georgia	18,872	---	89.0	10.0	5.6	10.1
35.	Lexington, Kentucky	174,323	266,701	87.5	12.3	32.2	9.7
36.	Gunnison County, Colorado	7,578	---		.3	38.4	10.7
37.	Birmingham, Alabama	305,893	767,230	57.8	41.3	-10.3	17.4
38.	Moore County, North Carolina	39,048	---		24.8	6.3	20.7
39.	Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri	622,236	2,410,884	58.8	40.9	-17.0	14.4
40.	Trenton, New Jersey	104,786	304,116	62.1	37.9	-8.2	12.7
41.	Ft. Smith, Arkansas	62,802	160,421	92.6	6.9	18.5	11.8
42.	West Palm Beach, Florida	57,375	348,993	75.4	24.4	2.1	12.3
43.	Lansing, Michigan	131,403	424,271	90.1	9.3	21.9	7.4
44.	Portsmouth, Virginia	110,963	732,600	59.4	39.9	-3.3	15.0
45.	Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ	260,350	607,839	78.0	21.0	-5.7	10.3
46.	Tacoma, Washington	154,407	412,344	91.0	6.8	4.3	9.2
47.	Detroit, Michigan	1,514,063	4,435,051	55.6	43.6	-9.3	11.3
48.	Lafayette, Louisiana	68,908	111,643	75.0	24.9	70.6	18.8
49.	Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan	129,573	234,103	85.7	13.1	44.7	6.6
50.	Corpus Christi, Texas	204,525	284,832	94.4	5.1	22.0	15.5
51.	Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin	5,898	---	100	0	3.9	7.3
52.	Bellaire, Texas	19,009	1,985,031	99.0		-4.3	2.2
53.	Laredo, Texas	69,024	72,859	99.5	.5	13.8	39.4
54.	Oldham County, Kentucky	14,687	---		8.8	9.7	12.8
55.	Knoxville, Tennessee	174,587	409,409	87.0	12.7	56.1	14.9
56.	Olympia, Washington	23,296	---	98.5	.2	27.5	6.6
57.	Springfield, Illinois	91,753	171,020	91.6	8.2	10.2	6.9
58.	Kansas City, Missouri	507,330	1,273,926	77.5	22.1	6.7	8.9
59.	New Orleans, Louisiana	593,471	1,046,470	54.6	45.0	-5.4	21.6
60.	Louisville, Kentucky	361,706	876,330	76.0	23.8	-7.4	13.0
61.	Lincoln, Nebraska	152,639	167,972	97.8	1.5	18.8	5.6
62.	Hillsboro, Oregon	14,675	1,009,129	99.0		78.3	6.5
63.	Salisbury, Maryland	15,252	---	87.0	13.0	-6.4	12.1
64.	South End, Boston, Massachusetts	641,071	2,899,101	82.0	16.3	-8.1	11.7
65.	Wilmington, Delaware	80,386	499,493	55.9	43.6	-16.1	16.0
66.	Topeka, Kansas	125,011	180,619	90.6	8.4	4.6	7.3

Table 11: State Capitals and Universities

		Capital Cities	Architecture School	Planning School
1.	Rapid City, South Dakota			
2.	Frankfort, Kentucky	☆		
3.	Flint, Michigan			
4.	Bellefonte, Pennsylvania		Penn State nearby	
5.	Mason, Michigan			
6.	Redmond, Washington			
7.	Lynn, Massachusetts			
8.	Akron, Ohio			
9.	Ely, Minnesota			
10.	Davenport, Iowa			
11.	Falls Church, Virginia			
12.	Fairfax County, Virginia			
13.	Clearwater, Florida			
14.	Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia			
15.	Butte, Montana			
16.	McMinnville, Oregon			
17.	Phoenix, Arizona	☆		
18.	Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL			
19.	Honolulu, Hawaii	☆	Univ of Hawaii at Manoa	Univ of Hawaii
20.	Wilson, North Carolina			
21.	Warren County, Ohio			
22.	Lafayette, Indiana			
23.	Hendersonville, Tennesee		Ball State nearby	
24.	Long Branch, New Jersey			
25.	Macon, Georgia			
26.	Shreveport, Louisiana		Louisiana State nearby	
27.	New Rochelle, New York			
28.	Reno, Nevada			
29.	Wichita Falls, Texas			
30.	Vancouver, Washington			
31.	Atlantic City, New Jersey			
32.	Bristol, Connecticut			
33.	Denver, Colorado	☆		Univ of Colorado at Denver
34.	Dalton, Georgia			
35.	Lexington, Kentucky		Univ of Kentucky	
36.	Gunnison County, Colorado			
37.	Birmingham, Alabama			
38.	Moore County, North Carolina			
39.	Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri		Washington Univ	
40.	Trenton, New Jersey	☆		
41.	Ft. Smith, Arkansas			
42.	West Palm Beach, Florida			
43.	Lansing, Michigan	☆		Michigan State/E.Lansing
44.	Portsmouth, Virginia			
45.	Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ			
46.	Tacoma, Washington			
47.	Detroit, Michigan		Univ of Detroit	Wayne State
48.	Lafayette, Louisiana		U of SW Louisiana	
49.	Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan		Univ of Michigan	Univ of Michigan
50.	Corpus Christi, Texas			
51.	Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin			
52.	Bellaire, Texas			
53.	Laredo, Texas			
54.	Oldham County, Kentucky			
55.	Knoxville, Tennessee		Univ of Tennessee	Univ of Tennessee
56.	Olympia, Washington	☆		
57.	Springfield, Illinois	☆	Univ of Illinois nearby	Univ of Illinois nearby
58.	Kansas City, Missouri			
59.	New Orleans, Louisiana		Tulane	Univ of New Orleans
60.	Louisville, Kentucky			
61.	Lincoln, Nebraska	☆	Univ of Nebraska	Univ of Nebraska
62.	Hillsboro, Oregon			
63.	Salisbury, Maryland			
64.	South End, Boston, Massachusetts	☆	BAC, MIT, Harvard	MIT, Harvard, Boston Coll
65.	Wilmington, Delware			
66.	Topeka, Kansas	☆		
	TOTAL	11	capital cities in 36 states	

Table 12: Study Area

◯ Defined by Local Steering Committee
× Considered by Team

	Entire City	Entire County or Region	CBD	Neighborhood	Park	Transportation Corridor
1. Rapid City, South Dakota			⊗			
2. Frankfort, Kentucky			⊗			
3. Flint, Michigan	⊗					
4. Bellefonte, Pennsylvania	⊗					
5. Mason, Michigan	⊗					
6. Redmond, Washington	◯					
7. Lynn, Massachusetts	×		◯			
8. Akron, Ohio				⊗		
9. Ely, Minnesota	⊗					
10. Davenport, Iowa			⊗			
11. Falls Church, Virginia			⊗			
12. Fairfax County, Virginia		⊗				
13. Clearwater, Florida	×		◯			
14. Gainesville-Hall County, Florida	⊗					
15. Butte, Montana	×		◯			
16. McMinnville, Oregon	⊗					
17. Phoenix, Arizona	⊗					
18. Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL			⊗			
19. Honolulu, Hawaii				⊗		
20. Wilson, North Carolina	⊗					
21. Warren County, Ohio		⊗				
22. Lafayette, Indiana	×					◯
23. Hendersonville, Tennessee	⊗					
24. Long Branch, New Jersey	⊗					
25. Macon, Georgia			⊗			
26. Shreveport, Louisiana			⊗			
27. New Rochelle, New York			⊗			
28. Reno, Nevada	⊗					
29. Wichita Falls, Texas			⊗			
30. Vancouver, Washington					⊗	
31. Atlantic City, New Jersey	⊗					
32. Bristol, Connecticut			⊗			
33. Denver, Colorado	⊗					
34. Dalton, Georgia	⊗					
35. Lexington, Kentucky	×		◯			
36. Gunnison County, Colorado		⊗				
37. Birmingham, Alabama	⊗					
38. Moore County, North Carolina		◯				
39. Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri					⊗	
40. Trenton, New Jersey				⊗		
41. Ft. Smith, Arkansas	×		◯			
42. West Palm Beach, Florida	×		◯			
43. Lansing, Michigan	⊗					
44. Portsmouth, Virginia	⊗					
45. Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ					⊗	
46. Tacoma, Washington			⊗			
47. Detroit, Michigan			⊗			
48. Lafayette, Louisiana	⊗					
49. Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan		⊗				
50. Corpus Christi, Texas	⊗					
51. Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin	⊗					
52. Bellaire, Texas	⊗					
53. Laredo, Texas			⊗			
54. Oldham County, Kentucky		⊗				
55. Knoxville, Tennessee	⊗					
56. Olympia, Washington	×		◯			
57. Springfield, Illinois			⊗			
58. Kansas City, Missouri	⊗					
59. New Orleans, Louisiana					⊗	
60. Louisville, Kentucky			⊗			
61. Lincoln, Nebraska	×					◯
62. Hillsboro, Oregon			⊗			
63. Salisbury, Maryland						
64. South End, Boston, Massachusetts				⊗		
65. Wilmington, Delaware	⊗					
66. Topeka, Kansas	×		◯			
TOTALS	34 25	5 6	16 24	4 4	4 4	0 2

Table 13: Physical Issues

○ Problems
× Recommendations
\+ Follow-up

		Site Specific								City Wide					
		Special Project	Bldg. Rehab	Circ. & Parking	Waterfront	Imageability	Street Appear.	Historic Pres.	Land Use	Transportation	Env. Protection	Infrastructure	Design Regs.	Dev. Schemes	
1.	Rapid City, South Dakota						×		×				×	⊗	
2.	Frankfort, Kentucky				×									⊗	
3.	Flint, Michigan								×	×					
4.	Bellefonte, Pennsylvania							✳					×		
5.	Mason, Michigan						×		×				×	⊗	Growth
6.	Redmond, Washington						×		×					⊗	Growth
7.	Lynn, Massachusetts		×	⊛	×	×	×						×	○	
8.	Akron, Ohio								⊗						
9.	Ely, Minnesota	×		×			×						×		
10.	Davenport, Iowa			○	○			×					×	×	
11.	Falls Church, Virginia	×				○									
12.	Fairfax County, Virginia					⊗				⊗	⊗	+		⊗	Growth
13.	Clearwater, Florida									×				×	
14.	Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia	✳						+						○	Growth
15.	Butte, Montana													×	
16.	McMinnville, Oregon			×		×	✳		×				✳	⊕	Growth
17.	Phoenix, Arizona									×				⊗	Growth
18.	Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL	+						+							
19.	Honolulu, Hawaii								⊗				✳	×	
20.	Wilson, North Carolina						×						×	⊗	Growth
21.	Warren County, Ohio													⊗	Growth
22.	Lafayette, Indiana	×	×				×	×	⊗	⊗		×		×	
23.	Hendersonville, Tennessee	×		×			×			×			×		
24.	Long Branch, New Jersey		×		×										
25.	Macon, Georgia			⊗	○		×	⊗	×				×		
26.	Shreveport, Louisiana	×	×	×	×		⊗		⊗					⊗	
27.	New Rochelle, New York	×		✳		×									
28.	Reno, Nevada	×			×				×					⊗	Growth
29.	Wichita Falls, Texas		×	+	+		✳		⊛						
30.	Vancouver, Washington								⊛						
31.	Atlantic City, New Jersey			×		×							×	✳	
32.	Bristol, Connecticut		×									×		×	
33.	Denver, Colorado			×						⊗				×	
34.	Dalton, Georgia		×	×			✳	✳						⊗	Growth
35.	Lexington, Kentucky			×			×	✳	⊗						
36.	Gunnison County, Colorado					×	×			×	×			⊗	Growth
37.	Birmingham, Alabama												×	×	
38.	Moore County, North Carolina														
39.	Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri								⊛						
40.	Trenton, New Jersey	×	+				×	×							
41.	Ft. Smith, Arkansas		×	×	×			×	×					×	
42.	West Palm Beach, Florida			×					×						
43.	Lansing, Michigan	×					✳	×	×				×		
44.	Portsmouth, Virginia			×	×			×							
45.	Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ			×					⊗						
46.	Tacoma, Washington								⊗	×					
47.	Detroit, Michigan			⊗	⊗				⊗						
48.	Lafayette, Louisiana	×		⊗			×	×	×	×				⊗	Growth
49.	Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan									⊗				⊛	Growth
50.	Corpus Christi, Texas	×	×	×			×		×		×			⊗	
51.	Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin	×	×	×			×	×	○					⊗	
52.	Bellaire, Texas	×		⊗		⊗				×				⊗	
53.	Laredo, Texas	×		×	✳	⊗		✳	×					⊛	
54.	Oldham County, Kentucky					×				×		×	×	⊗	Growth
55.	Knoxville, Tennessee	×		×	×		×		×					⊗	
56.	Olympia, Washington	×		⊛	✳			×	⊗		×		✳	⊗	Growth
57.	Springfield, Illinois		⊛						⊗					⊗	
58.	Kansas City, Missouri	×		×			×		×		⊗			⊗	Growth
59.	New Orleans, Louisiana					×	×		⊛						
60.	Louisville, Kentucky			×	×				⊗				×	⊗	
61.	Lincoln, Nebraska			×					⊗	⊗				×	
62.	Hillsboro, Oregon	×		×		○		×	×	×			×	⊗	
63.	Salisbury, Maryland														
64.	South End, Boston, Massachusetts			×		×			×					⊗	
65.	Wilmington, Delaware				×	○								⊗	
66.	Topeka, Kansas	×	×	×		×	×	×	×					⊗	

Table 14: Social Issues

○ Problems
× Recommendations
+ Follow-up

1.	Rapid City, South Dakota		
2.	Frankfort, Kentucky		
3.	Flint, Michigan		
4.	Bellefonte, Pennsylvania		
5.	Mason, Michigan		
6.	Redmond, Washington		
7.	Lynn, Massachusetts		
8.	Akron, Ohio	×	provide relocation service for families
9.	Ely, Minnesota		
10.	Davenport, Iowa		
11.	Falls Church, Virginia		
12.	Fairfax County, Virginia		
13.	Clearwater, Florida		
14.	Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia		
15.	Butte, Montana		
16.	McMinnville, Oregon		
17.	Phoenix, Arizona	○	
18.	Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL		
19.	Honolulu, Hawaii		
20.	Wilson, North Carolina		
21.	Warren County, Ohio		
22.	Lafayette, Indiana		
23.	Hendersonville, Tennessee		
24.	Long Branch, New Jersey		
25.	Macon, Georgia		
26.	Shreveport, Louisiana		
27.	New Rochelle, New York		
28.	Reno, Nevada		
29.	Wichita Falls, Texas		
30.	Vancouver, Washington		
31.	Atlantic City, New Jersey		
32.	Bristol, Connecticut		
33.	Denver, Colorado		
34.	Dalton, Georgia		
35.	Lexington, Kentucky		
36.	Gunnison County, Colorado		
37.	Birmingham, Alabama		
38.	Moore County, North Carolina		
39.	Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri		
40.	Trenton, New Jersey	×	provide for health and educational needs
41.	Ft. Smith, Arkansas		
42.	West Palm Beach, Florida		
43.	Lansing, Michigan		
44.	Portsmouth, Virginia		
45.	Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ		
46.	Tacoma, Washington		
47.	Detroit, Michigan		
48.	Lafayette, Louisiana		
49.	Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan		
50.	Corpus Christi, Texas	⊛	link two cultures, bi-lingual education
51.	Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin		
52.	Bellaire, Texas		
53.	Laredo, Texas		
54.	Oldham County, Kentucky		
55.	Knoxville, Tennessee		
56.	Olympia, Washington		
57.	Springfield, Illinois		
58.	Kansas City, Missouri		
59.	New Orleans, Louisiana		
60.	Louisville, Kentucky		
61.	Lincoln, Nebraska	×	bring social services to citizens
62.	Hillsboro, Oregon		
63.	Salisbury, Maryland		
64.	South End, Boston, Massachusetts	×	crime prevention, "clean community" program
65.	Wilmington, Delaware		
66.	Topeka, Kansas	×	crime prevention, educational improvements

Table 15: Economic Issues

○ Problems
× Recommendations
\+ Follow-up

	Business Assistance	Industrial Assistance	Housing Assistance	City Tax Base
1. Rapid City, South Dakota	○			
2. Frankfort, Kentucky				
3. Flint, Michigan				○
4. Bellefonte, Pennsylvania				⊗
5. Mason, Michigan	○			
6. Redmond, Washington				
7. Lynn, Massachusetts	○			
8. Akron, Ohio		○		
9. Ely, Minnesota				
10. Davenport, Iowa	○			
11. Falls Church, Virginia	○			
12. Fairfax County, Virginia				
13. Clearwater, Florida	○			
14. Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia				
15. Butte, Montana	○			
16. McMinnville, Oregon				
17. Phoenix, Arizona				
18. Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL	○			
19. Honolulu, Hawaii			×	
20. Wilson, North Carolina				
21. Warren County, Ohio				
22. Lafayette, Indiana			×	
23. Hendersonville, Tennessee				
24. Long Branch, New Jersey	○			
25. Macon, Georgia	○			
26. Shreveport, Louisiana				
27. New Rochelle, New York				
28. Reno, Nevada				
29. Wichita Falls, Texas	×			
30. Vancouver, Washington				
31. Atlantic City, New Jersey		○		
32. Bristol, Connecticut	⊗		×	
33. Denver, Colorado				
34. Dalton, Georgia				
35. Lexington, Kentucky				
36. Gunnison County, Colorado		×		
37. Birmingham, Alabama				
38. Moore County, North Carolina				
39. Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri				
40. Trenton, New Jersey	⊗		×	
41. Ft. Smith, Arkansas	○			×
42. West Palm Beach, Florida				
43. Lansing, Michigan	×			
44. Portsmouth, Virginia	⊗		⊗	
45. Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ				
46. Tacoma, Washington			×	○
47. Detroit, Michigan	×			
48. Lafayette, Louisiana				
49. Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan				×
50. Corpus Christi, Texas			×	
51. Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin				
52. Bellaire, Texas				×
53. Laredo, Texas	×			⊗
54. Oldham County, Kentucky	×			×
55. Knoxville, Tennessee				
56. Olympia, Washington				
57. Springfield, Illinois	⊗		⊗	
58. Kansas City, Missouri				⊗
59. New Orleans, Louisiana				×
60. Louisville, Kentucky				
61. Lincoln, Nebraska				
62. Hillsboro, Oregon				×
63. Salisbury, Maryland				
64. South End, Boston, Massachusetts	⊗			
65. Wilmington, Delaware	×			
66. Topeka, Kansas				

Table 16: Procedural Issues

○ Problems
× Recommendations
\+ Follow-up

		Coordination/Cooperation of Sectors	Organization of Government	Private Sector Involvement	Community Involvement	Professional Consultant Needed
1.	Rapid City, South Dakota		×	×		✳
2.	Frankfort, Kentucky		×	⊗	⊗	×
3.	Flint, Michigan		⊗	✳	✳	
4.	Bellefonte, Pennsylvania		×	×		×
5.	Mason, Michigan		×	×		
6.	Redmond, Washington			×		
7.	Lynn, Massachusetts		×	✳	×	×
8.	Akron, Ohio		×		⊛	
9.	Ely, Minnesota				+	
10.	Davenport, Iowa			✳		✳
11.	Falls Church, Virginia	×				✳
12.	Fairfax County, Virginia		×			×
13.	Clearwater, Florida					×
14.	Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia					
15.	Butte, Montana		×	⊛	✳	✳
16.	McMinnville, Oregon		+	+	+	+
17.	Phoenix, Arizona				✳	
18.	Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL	+		+		+
19.	Honolulu, Hawaii				✳	
20.	Wilson, North Carolina			×		×
21.	Warren County, Ohio		+			
22.	Lafayette, Indiana	+	✳	+	+	×
23.	Hendersonville, Tennessee				×	
24.	Long Branch, New Jersey	×			×	
25.	Macon, Georgia		✳		×	
26.	Shreveport, Louisiana	✳	✳	✳	✳	
27.	New Rochelle, New York	×			+	
28.	Reno, Nevada	✳	×		✳	
29.	Wichita Falls, Texas	+	⊛	+	×	
30.	Vancouver, Washington		✳	+		
31.	Atlantic City, New Jersey				×	
32.	Bristol, Connecticut	○	×		×	✳
33.	Denver, Colorado	×		×		
34.	Dalton, Georgia	×		✳	×	
35.	Lexington, Kentucky	+	×	×	+	
36.	Gunnison County, Colorado	✳	×		×	+
37.	Birmingham, Alabama	⊗	⊛	⊗	⊛	
38.	Moore County, North Carolina					
39.	Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri	×	✳	+		
40.	Trenton, New Jersey			+	✳	+
41.	Ft. Smith, Arkansas	×		×	×	
42.	West Palm Beach, Florida		×		×	
43.	Lansing, Michigan	×	+		+	
44.	Portsmouth, Virginia					
45.	Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ	×			×	
46.	Tacoma, Washington		×	×	×	
47.	Detroit, Michigan				+	
48.	Lafayette, Louisiana		×		+	
49.	Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan		⊗			
50.	Corpus Christi, Texas	○	×	+	✳	
51.	Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin		×	×		
52.	Bellaire, Texas					
53.	Laredo, Texas	✳	✳	✳	+	
54.	Oldham County, Kentucky					
55.	Knoxville, Tennessee		×	✳		
56.	Olympia, Washington		×			
57.	Springfield, Illinois		⊗	+	+	×
58.	Kansas City, Missouri	✳				×
59.	New Orleans, Louisiana	×	×		×	×
60.	Louisville, Kentucky	×	×	×	×	
61.	Lincoln, Nebraska		×			
62.	Hillsboro, Oregon		×		×	
63.	Salisbury, Maryland					
64.	South End, Boston, Massachusetts	×		×		
65.	Wilmington, Delaware	○	⊗	○	○	
66.	Topeka, Kansas		×			×

Table 17: Team Composition By City

Total No. of Team Members			Architect	Planner	Urban Designer	Comb. of Above	Landscape Arch.	Transportation	Ecologist	Geologist	Geographer	Arch. Historian	Sculptor	Engineer	Attorney	Economist	Comb. of Two Above and Planner	Sociologist	Psychologist	Political Scientist	Social Planner	Anthropologist	Businessman	Developer	Journalist
4	1.	Rapid City, South Dakota	1			3																			
2	2.	Frankfort, Kentucky		1		1																			
5	3.	Flint, Michigan	2			2		1																	
3	4.	Bellefonte, Pennsylvania	1	1		1																			
3	5.	Mason, Michigan				3																			
3	6.	Redmond, Washington				3																			
4	7.	Lynn, Massachusetts		1		3																			
3	8.	Akron, Ohio				3																			
2	9.	Ely, Minnesota	1			1																			
3	10.	Davenport, Iowa				2		1																	
4	11.	Falls Church, Virginia				3										1									
8	12.	Fairfax County, Virginia				5		1	1							1									
4	13.	Clearwater, Florida				2	1									1									
4	14.	Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia	3			1																			
7	15.	Butte, Montana				5			1	1															
4	16.	McMinnville, Oregon				3										1									
7	17.	Phoenix, Arizona				3		1	1							1		1							
6	18.	Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL	1			2		1	1							1									
7	19.	Honolulu, Hawaii		1		5										1									
9	20.	Wilson, North Carolina				5										2	1	1							
7	21.	Warren County, Ohio		1		4									1	1									
6	22.	Lafayette, Indiana				4									1	1									
5	23.	Hendersonville, Tennessee	2			2										1									
6	24.	Long Branch, New Jersey				4										1		1							
7	25.	Macon, Georgia	1			4		1								1									
7	26.	Shreveport, Louisiana		1		3									1	1							1		
6	27.	New Rochelle, New York				4		1								1									
8	28.	Reno, Nevada		1		3	1								1	1		1							
5	29.	Wichita Falls, Texas	2			2										1									
6	30.	Vancouver, Washington		1	1	3										1									
7	31.	Atlantic City, New Jersey	2			2										1			1	1					
4	32.	Bristol, Connecticut				3										1									
8	33.	Denver, Colorado				5		1							1	1									
5	34.	Dalton, Georgia		2		2										1									
7	35.	Lexington, Kentucky		1		3	1								1									1	
7	36.	Gunnison County, Colorado				2				1	1				1	1		1							
9	37.	Birmingham, Alabama	1			5	1									1			1						
6	38.	Moore County, North Carolina		1		2										1	1	1							
7	39.	Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri		2		3									1	1									
9	40.	Trenton, New Jersey	4	1		2															1			1	
5	41.	Ft. Smith, Arkansas				4										1									
7	42.	West Palm Beach, Florida	1			2	1	1							1	1									
8	43.	Lansing, Michigan	1			4						1				1									1
8	44.	Portsmouth, Virginia		2	1	2	1	1								1									
7	45.	Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ		2		4												1							
9	46.	Tacoma, Washington				3									2	1	1							1	1
8	47.	Detroit, Michigan		1		5		1														1			
8	48.	Lafayette, Louisiana		1		4									1	2									
8	49.	Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan				3	1							2		1					1				
8	50.	Corpus Christi, Texas	2	2		2															1	1			
9	51.	Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin	1			3	1	1	1							1	1								
7	52.	Bellaire, Texas		1	1	3		1							1										
8	53.	Laredo, Texas	1			4		1							1	1									
7	54.	Oldham County, Kentucky		1		2										1	1	1						1	
8	55.	Knoxville, Tennessee				4	1	1								1									1
9	56.	Olympia, Washington		2		4		1							1	1									
6	57.	Springfield, Illinois	4														2								
8	58.	Kansas City, Missouri				4	1	1								1								1	
9	59.	New Orleans, Louisiana		1		4	1							2					1						
9	60.	Louisville, Kentucky		1	1	2		1													2		1	1	
7	61.	Lincoln, Nebraska	1	3		2										1									
7	62.	Hillsboro, Oregon		1		3				1		1				1									
	63.	Salisbury, Maryland																							
8	64.	South End, Boston, Massachusetts	3	2		1		1								1									
9	65.	Wilmington, Delaware		1		4		1				1												1	1
8	66.	Topeka, Kansas		1		2	1									1	1			1	1				
418		TOTALS	35	37	4	193	12	20	5	2	2	2	2	4	18	41	7	8	4	4	4	1	2	7	4

Table 18: Predominant Role Played by Team

	Educating Citizens	Educating Public Officials	Educating Everyone	Dispensing Solutions	Mediating Community Factions	Advocating View of Citizens
1. Rapid City, South Dakota				X		
2. Frankfort, Kentucky				X		
3. Flint, Michigan				X		
4. Bellefonte, Pennsylvania				X		
5. Mason, Michigan		X				
6. Redmond, Washington						
7. Lynn, Massachusetts				X		
8. Akron, Ohio						X
9. Ely, Minnesota				X		
10. Davenport, Iowa			X			
11. Falls Church, Virginia				X		
12. Fairfax County, Virginia		X				
13. Clearwater, Florida				X		
14. Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia				X		
15. Butte, Montana		X				
16. McMinnville, Oregon				X		
17. Phoenix, Arizona				X		
18. Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL						
19. Honolulu, Hawaii				X		
20. Wilson, North Carolina				X		
21. Warren County, Ohio		X				
22. Lafayette, Indiana		X				
23. Hendersonville, Tennessee				X		
24. Long Branch, New Jersey	X					
25. Macon, Georgia	X					
26. Shreveport, Louisiana		X				
27. New Rochelle, New York				X		
28. Reno, Nevada				X		
29. Wichita Falls, Texas				X		
30. Vancouver, Washington				X		
31. Atlantic City, New Jersey					X	
32. Bristol, Connecticut				X		
33. Denver, Colorado		X				
34. Dalton, Georgia						X
35. Lexington, Kentucky		X				
36. Gunnison County, Colorado		X				
37. Birmingham, Alabama			X			
38. Moore County, North Carolina						
39. Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri		X				
40. Trenton, New Jersey						X
41. Ft. Smith, Arkansas				X		
42. West Palm Beach, Florida			X			
43. Lansing, Michigan				X		
44. Portsmouth, Virginia				X		
45. Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ						X
46. Tacoma, Washington				X		
47. Detroit, Michigan				X		
48. Lafayette, Louisiana				X		
49. Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan		X				
50. Corpus Christi, Texas				X		
51. Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin				X		
52. Bellaire, Texas				X		
53. Laredo, Texas				X		
54. Oldham County, Kentucky		X				
55. Knoxville, Tennessee				X		
56. Olympia, Washington				X		
57. Springfield, Illinois		X				
58. Kansas City, Missouri				X		
59. New Orleans, Louisiana						X
60. Louisville, Kentucky					X	
61. Lincoln, Nebraska			X			
62. Hillsboro, Oregon				X		
63. Salisbury, Maryland						
64. South End, Boston, Massachusetts				X		
65. Wilmington, Delaware				X		
66. Topeka, Kansas			X			
TOTALS	2	13	5	35	2	5

Table 19: Network Functions Teams Were Asked to Play

No Reports			Scheme	Promote	Coordinate	Regulate	Package	Design	Build
	X	Indicated in Report							
	A	Assumed							
✓	1.	Rapid City, South Dakota		A					
✓	2.	Frankfort, Kentucky		A					
✓	3.	Flint, Michigan		A					
✓	4.	Bellefonte, Pennsylvania		A					
✓	5.	Mason, Michigan		A					
✓	6.	Redmond, Washington		A					
✓	7.	Lynn, Massachusetts		A					
	8.	Akron, Ohio		A	X	X			
	9.	Ely, Minnesota	X	A					
	10.	Davenport, Iowa	X	A					
✓	11.	Falls Church, Virginia		A					
	12.	Fairfax County, Virginia	X	A		X			
✓	13.	Clearwater, Florida		A					
✓	14.	Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia		A					
	15.	Butte, Montana		A	X		X		
	16.	McMinnville, Oregon	X	A		X			
	17.	Phoenix, Arizona	X	A					
✓	18.	Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL		A					
	19.	Honolulu, Hawaii	X	A					
	20.	Wilson, North Carolina	X	A					
✓	21.	Warren County, Ohio		A					
	22.	Lafayette, Indiana	X	A					
	23.	Hendersonville, Tennessee	X	A		X			
	24.	Long Branch, New Jersey	X	A					
	25.	Macon, Georgia	X	A			X		
	26.	Shreveport, Louisiana	X	A					
	27.	New Rochelle, New York	X	A					
	28.	Reno, Nevada	X	A		X			
	29.	Wichita Falls, Texas	X	A	X	X	X		
	30.	Vancouver, Washington	X	A					
	31.	Atlantic City, New Jersey		A	X		X		
	32.	Bristol, Connecticut	X	A	X				
	33.	Denver, Colorado	X	A					
	34.	Dalton, Georgia	X	A		X			
	35.	Lexington, Kentucky	X	A	X	X	X		
	36.	Gunnison County, Colorado	X	A		X			
	37.	Birmingham, Alabama		A	X				
✓	38.	Moore County, North Carolina		A					
	39.	Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri	X	A					
	40.	Trenton, New Jersey		A			X		
✓	41.	Ft. Smith, Arkansas		A					
	42.	West Palm Beach, Florida	X	A					
	43.	Lansing, Michigan	X	A					
	44.	Portsmouth, Virginia	X	A			X		
	45.	Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ	X	A					
	46.	Tacoma, Washington	X	A					
	47.	Detroit, Michigan	X	A					
	48.	Lafayette, Louisiana	X	A					
	49.	Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan	X	A	X	X			
	50.	Corpus Christi, Texas	X	A					
	51.	Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin	X	A					
	52.	Bellaire, Texas	X	A		X			
	53.	Laredo, Texas	X	A					
	54.	Oldham County, Kentucky	X	A					
	55.	Knoxville, Tennessee	X	A					
	56.	Olympia, Washington	X	A					
	57.	Springfield, Illinois	X	A					
	58.	Kansas City, Missouri	X	A		X			
	59.	New Orleans, Louisiana		A	X				
	60.	Louisville, Kentucky	X	A					
	61.	Lincoln, Nebraska	X	A					
	62.	Hillsboro, Oregon	X	A					
✓	63.	Salisbury, Maryland		A					
	64.	South End, Boston, Massachusetts	X	A			X		
	65.	Wilmington, Delaware	X	A	X	X			
	66.	Topeka, Kansas	X	A	X				
		TOTALS	45	66	11	13	8		

Table 20: Network Functions Played by Teams

No Report		Scheme	Promote	Coordinate	Regulate	Package	Design	Build
	X Indicated in Report A Assumed							
✓	1. Rapid City, South Dakota		A					
✓	2. Frankfort, Kentucky		A					
✓	3. Flint, Michigan		A					
✓	4. Bellefonte, Pennsylvania		A					
✓	5. Mason, Michigan		A					
✓	6. Redmond, Washington		A					
✓	7. Lynn, Massachusetts		A					
	8. Akron, Ohio	X	A	X				
	9. Ely, Minnesota	X	A					
	10. Davenport, Iowa	X	A	X	X			
✓	11. Falls Church, Virginia		A					
	12. Fairfax County, Virginia	X	A	X	X			
✓	13. Clearwater, Florida		A					
✓	14. Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia		A					
	15. Butte, Montana	X	A	X	X			
	16. McMinnville, Oregon	X	A	X				
	17. Phoenix, Arizona	X	A	X				
✓	18. Columbus, GA, Phenix, AL		A					
	19. Honolulu, Hawaii	X	A	X	X			
	20. Wilson, North Carolina	X	A	X	X			
✓	21. Warren County, Ohio		A					
	22. Lafayette, Indiana	X	A	X	X	X		
	23. Hendersonville, Tennessee	X	A	X	X			
	24. Long Branch, New Jersey	X	A	X	X			
	25. Macon, Georgia	X	A	X	X			
	26. Shreveport, Louisiana	X	A	X		X		
	27. New Rochelle, New York	X	A					
	28. Reno, Nevada	X	A	X	X			
	29. Wichita Falls, Texas	X	A	X		X		
	30. Vancouver, Washington	X	A					
	31. Atlantic City, New Jersey	X	A	X	X			
	32. Bristol, Connecticut	X	A		X	X		
	33. Denver, Colorado	X	A	X				
	34. Dalton, Georgia	X	A	X				
	35. Lexington, Kentucky	X	A	X		X		
	36. Gunnison County, Colorado	X	A	X	X			
	37. Birmingham, Alabama	X	A	X	X			
✓	38. Moore County, North Carolina		A					
	39. Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri	X	A	X		X		
	40. Trenton, New Jersey	X	A	X				
✓	41. Ft. Smith, Arkansas		A					
	42. West Palm Beach, Florida	X	A	X	X			
	43. Lansing, Michigan	X	A	X	X	X		
	44. Portsmouth, Virginia	X	A			X		
	45. Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ	X	A	X				
	46. Tacoma, Washington	X	A	X	X	X		
	47. Detroit, Michigan	X	A			X		
	48. Lafayette, Louisiana	X	A	X	X			
	49. Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan	X	A	X				
	50. Corpus Christi, Texas	X	A	X	X	X		
	51. Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin	X	A	X	X			
	52. Bellaire, Texas	X	A	X	X	X		
	53. Laredo, Texas	X	A	X	X	X		
	54. Oldham County, Kentucky	X	A		X			
	55. Knoxville, Tennessee	X	A	X	X			
	56. Olympia, Washington	X	A		X	X		
	57. Springfield, Illinois	X	A	X		X		
	58. Kansas City, Missouri	X	A	X		X		
	59. New Orleans, Louisiana	X	A	X		X		
	60. Louisville, Kentucky	X	A	X	X			
	61. Lincoln, Nebraska	X	A	X	X			
	62. Hillsboro, Oregon	X	A	X	X			
✓	63. Salisbury, Maryland		A					
	64. South End, Boston, Massachusetts	X	A	X		X		
	65. Wilmington, Delaware	X	A	X	X			
	66. Topeka, Kansas	X	A	X	X	X		
	TOTALS	51	66	43	30	19		

Table 21: Funding Source

	Downtown Org. as Sole Source	Local Public Agency as Sole Source	Private Grant as Sole Source	State/Regional Agency Only	Core Group: City Agency, Downtown Org. A/O A.I.A.	Many Sources: Gov't, Non-Profits, Individuals	Supplementary Fed. Funding
	single source ←				→ multiple sources		
1. Rapid City, South Dakota							
2. Frankfort, Kentucky							
3. Flint, Michigan							
4. Bellefonte, Pennsylvania							
5. Mason, Michigan							
6. Redmond, Washington							
7. Lynn, Massachusetts					X		
8. Akron, Ohio							
9. Ely, Minnesota							
10. Davenport, Iowa	X						
11. Falls Church, Virginia							
12. Fairfax County, Virginia		X					
13. Clearwater, Florida							
14. Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia							
15. Butte, Montana		X					
16. McMinnville, Oregon					X		
17. Phoenix, Arizona			X				
18. Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL							
19. Honolulu, Hawaii							
20. Wilson, North Carolina		X					
21. Warren County, Ohio					X		
22. Lafayette, Indiana					X		
23. Hendersonville, Tennessee		X					
24. Long Branch, New Jersey		X					
25. Macon, Georgia						X	
26. Shreveport, Louisiana						X	
27. New Rochelle, New York					X		
28. Reno, Nevada						X	
29. Wichita Falls, Texas					X		
30. Vancouver, Washington						X	
31. Atlantic City, New Jersey					X		
32. Bristol, Connecticut	X						
33. Denver, Colorado						X	
34. Dalton, Georgia						X	X
35. Lexington, Kentucky	X						
36. Gunnison County, Colorado					X		
37. Birmingham, Alabama					X		
38. Moore County, North Carolina							
39. Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri						X	
40. Trenton, New Jersey		X					X
41. Ft. Smith, Arkansas							
42. West Palm Beach, Florida						X	
43. Lansing, Michigan							
44. Portsmouth, Virginia		X					
45. Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ				X			
46. Tacoma, Washington					X		
47. Detroit, Michigan					X		
48. Lafayette, Louisiana							
49. Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan							
50. Corpus Christi, Texas							
51. Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin				X			
52. Bellaire, Texas						X	
53. Laredo, Texas							
54. Oldham County, Kentucky		X					
55. Knoxville, Tennessee				X			
56. Olympia, Washington						X	
57. Springfield, Illinois							X
58. Kansas City, Missouri						X	
59. New Orleans, Louisiana						X	X
60. Louisville, Kentucky		X					
61. Lincoln, Nebraska		X					
62. Hillsboro, Oregon							
63. Salisbury, Maryland							
64. South End, Boston, Massachusetts					X		
65. Wilmington, Delaware						X	
66. Topeka, Kansas						X	
TOTALS	3	10	1	3	12	14	4 = 47
%	6.4	21.3	2.1	6.4	25.5	29.8	8.5

Table 22: Steering Committee Composition

	Downtown Org. Only	Local A.I.A. Only	City or County Agency Only	Community Group Only	Two Committees: A.I.A. and Other	Multi-Sector Group Formed especially for R/UDAT	Existing Task Force Established for Other Purpose
1. Rapid City, South Dakota	X						
2. Frankfort, Kentucky		X					
3. Flint, Michigan		X					
4. Bellefonte, Pennsylvania					X		
5. Mason, Michigan							
6. Redmond, Washington							
7. Lynn, Massachusetts					X		
8. Akron, Ohio						X	
9. Ely, Minnesota		X					
10. Davenport, Iowa					X		
11. Falls Church, Virginia							
12. Fairfax County, Virginia					X		
13. Clearwater, Florida		X					
14. Gainesville-Hall County, Georgia							
15. Butte, Montana		X					
16. McMinnville, Oregon							
17. Phoenix, Arizona		X					
18. Columbus, GA, Phenix City, AL		X					
19. Honolulu, Hawaii							
20. Wilson, North Carolina		X					
21. Warren County, Ohio					X		
22. Lafayette, Indiana		X					
23. Hendersonville, Tennessee							
24. Long Branch, New Jersey		X					
25. Macon, Georgia						X	
26. Shreveport, Louisiana		X					
27. New Rochelle, New York		X					
28. Reno, Nevada							
29. Wichita Falls, Texas		X					
30. Vancouver, Washington							X
31. Atlantic City, New Jersey							
32. Bristol, Connecticut					X		
33. Denver, Colorado		X					
34. Dalton, Georgia							X
35. Lexington, Kentucky						X	
36. Gunnison County, Colorado		X					
37. Birmingham, Alabama		X					
38. Moore County, North Carolina							
39. Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri		X					
40. Trenton, New Jersey			X				
41. Ft. Smith, Arkansas							
42. West Palm Beach, Florida					X		
43. Lansing, Michigan		X					
44. Portsmouth, Virginia							
45. Liberty Park, Jersey City, NJ					X		
46. Tacoma, Washington						X	
47. Detroit, Michigan						X	
48. Lafayette, Louisiana		X					
49. Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti, Michigan		X					
50. Corpus Christi, Texas						X	
51. Medford/Spooner, Wisconsin							
52. Bellaire, Texas						X	
53. Laredo, Texas						X	
54. Oldham County, Kentucky		X					
55. Knoxville, Tennessee							
56. Olympia, Washington						X	
57. Springfield, Illinois		X					
58. Kansas City, Missouri		X					
59. New Orleans, Louisiana						X	
60. Louisville, Kentucky						X	
61. Lincoln, Nebraska							X
62. Hillsboro, Oregon						X	
63. Salisbury, Maryland							
64. South End, Boston, Massachusetts				X			
65. Wilmington, Delaware		X					
66. Topeka, Kansas		X					
TOTALS	1	25	1	1	8	12	3 = 51
%	2	49	2	2	16	23	6

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since a thesis is not only a piece of work in itself but also the culmination of several years of work toward an academic degree (or degrees, as the case may be), it seems appropriate to thank not only those who helped the writer with the thesis but also those who helped the student with her studies.

Those to whom I owe the most thanks for their help on the thesis are my advisors, Gary Hack, Felicia Clark, and Tunney Lee. Special thanks go to Felicia Clark for sharing not only her insights but also her studies, files, and reports on R/UDAT, all of which served largely as the data base for this study. Others whose thoughts and time I am very grateful for include R/UDAT spokesmen Charles Redmon, Robert Sturgis, and John Gaillard.

And those to whom I owe thanks for their teaching at M.I.T. include Julian Beinart, John Habraken, Bill Porter, Dolores Hayden, Phil Herr, Jack Myer, and, once again, Gary Hack and Tunney Lee. One who also teaches at M.I.T., although outside the School of Architecture and Planning, to whom I owe special thanks is Maggie Lettvin.

Finally, personal thanks go to a long list of Lampkins, Julia Wondolleck, Fred Merrill, Wendy Krum, Howard Davis, Sherry Tvedt, Ann Prestipino, and, in particular, Mary Otis Stevens, who introduced me to M.I.T.